

# East Europe

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### Carnogursky on His Legislative Work, Views

90EC0348A Bratislava NEDELNA PRAVDA in Slovak  
2 Mar 90 p 6

[Interview with Jan Carnogursky by Bohumila Michalkova; place and date not given: "The Republic Also Needs Strong Leftist Component"—first paragraph is NEDELNA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The First Deputy Premier of the CSSR Government, Jan Carnogursky, LL.D., was born on 1 January 1944 in Bratislava. In 1969 he graduated from the Law School of the Charles University in Prague, and earned his doctorate in 1971 at the Law School of the Charles University in Bratislava. He was barred from practicing law for defending Drahomira Sinoglova, who was charged with the crime of sedition. Since 1987 he was unemployed for almost two years. While he was practicing law, he was a member of the Civil and Labor Law section of the Slovak Lawyers Association and the Czech Lawyers Association.

[NEDELNA PRAVDA] Mr. Carnogursky, when I asked you in the Prague House of Slovak Culture for an interview, I did not believe that you would agree to it. Does it not go against the grain to talk to someone who works for the press of the Communist Party of Slovakia?

[Carnogursky] No. It does not bother me, so long as I can say what I want.

[NEDELNA PRAVDA] That goes without saying. After all, it also gives me the opportunity to ask you questions of any kind. Last month, the Federal Assembly adopted, among other things, a law on political parties. But paragraph No 8 also speaks about political movements. I assume that it concerns the Public Against Violence and the Civic Forum. Does it mean, then, that these movements will enter their own slate of candidates in the elections?

[Carnogursky] According to the information I have, yes. From the point of view of participating in the elections, there is practically no difference between political movements and political parties.

[NEDELNA PRAVDA] What is your opinion on the possibility that the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence might become political parties following the elections?

[Carnogursky] I shall answer you with a question: Why would they do it? They can develop their activities as political movements just as well. Look, a political party, that is a certain word designation. For example, I am engaged in the Christian-Democratic movement. For the time being, at meetings of its sympathizers there has been a prevalence of opposition to becoming a Christian-Democratic party. The opinion is that we should remain

a movement, a union, or an association.... The concept of political party has been somewhat compromised in the eyes of the public.

[NEDELNA PRAVDA] As far as I know, a draft law on elections is ready. Will it be presented in the media for public discussion? If not, when is its approval in the Federal Assembly expected?

[Carnogursky] The law on elections is very extensive and for that reason rather difficult to publicize in the media. By that I do not want to say that the press, radio, and television are closed to it. On the contrary, its content with its important statutes will be given great attention. Thoroughly acquainted with the Law on Elections are members of the roundtable discussion, who concretized some of its statutes. For example, according to the original draft a party needed 20,000 signatures in order to take part in the elections. It was precisely at this roundtable that the number was reduced by half. It is expected that the Federal Assembly will pass the law at the end of February or the beginning of March of this year. As far as the elections are concerned, they are expected to take place on 8 June.

[NEDELNA PRAVDA] At the time of the meeting with members of the Club of Slovak Culture in Prague, you also spoke about other laws that are being drafted. Which ones will those be?

[Carnogursky] At present, two groups of laws are being intensively worked on, political and economic. Among the first group are, besides the law on political parties and elections, also the law on assembly, associating in clubs and organizations, law on petitioning, and the law on press can also be included here. They are all ready in their paragraph form and are now undergoing commentary procedures. The demands which were heard in our streets and gatherings after 17 November are being established in law.

[NEDELNA PRAVDA] Am I to understand that we shall be able to assemble whenever and wherever, or to form organization which could endanger something or someone?

[Carnogursky] Of course not! Where the law is obviously being broken, the state will be able to forbid or dissolve a meeting, and an organization or a club as well. But such cases are specified in the draft law, and control by the courts will be possible.

[NEDELNA PRAVDA] You also spoke about the preparation of economic laws....

[Carnogursky] Those are laws on private enterprise and corporations, and a modification of the law on state enterprise is also being prepared. These will be accompanied by other related laws, for example, on health insurance, economic arbitration, etc.

[NEDELNA PRAVDA] Mr Carnogursky, recently an information appeared in the press that a commission was established for the rehabilitation of representatives...

[Carnogursky] If you permit me, I shall not speak to the specific question of rehabilitating representatives who were thrown out of the Czech National Council, the Slovak National Council, or the Federal Assembly after 1969, but rather to this problem in general. It was discussed at the meeting which dealt with questions of other legislative projects of the government and the coordination of these projects with the Czech and the Slovak governments. It is a philosophical question. How in fact to proceed in rehabilitating people who were persecuted during the past decades? We can recite their names, give them financial compensation, or only moral satisfaction. We can thus simply close the books on the past and go forward. In reality it is very complicated. It is a question of how we view the past, the people who, by their unyielding attitude which brought them discrimination, prepared the ground for what is happening now. That meeting had too much of a legalistic character to solve this problem justly. That is why I am giving such an answer to your question.

[NEDELNA PRAVDA] In the letters which we are receiving it is often asked whether a legal modification of the relations between the CSR [Czech Socialist Republic] and the SSR [Slovak Socialist Republic] is being considered.

[Carnogursky] Nothing is being done in this area for the time being. That is a constitutional question and will be dealt with after the elections, when work on the constitution resumes. Prior to that, however, it will be necessary to take a look at the actual status of Slovakia and the Czech Republic, at the state of our mutual life together, and then, naturally with some definite ideas how it should progress in the future, anchor it in legal norms.

[NEDELNA PRAVDA] In this connection, I would be interested in your views on the change in the name of the state, which would be Czecho-Slovakia. Vehement discussions, I would say, are continuing about a new national emblem. How do you look at these problems?

[Carnogursky] It is obvious that as far as the new name of the country is concerned, it is being talked about mostly in Slovakia. But it is up to both republics what position they will take on this question. Then there is also the government.... I just want to say, however, that when Slovakia arrives at some definite position either on this or any other question, I will support it on principle, and to put it plainly, I preside at the federal level. When Slovakia decides how it wants to write the name of the republic or what kind of emblem it wants I will support those positions, but I will not engage in formulating them.

[NEDELNA PRAVDA] I would still like to ask you several questions which you may or may not wish to answer. The first one is, what is your opinion of the Czechoslovak Communist Party?

[Carnogursky] You know, I grew up in a Catholic family and I consider myself a Catholic. I studied Catholic social doctrine, and I must say that I always stood on the

opposite side from the Communist Party. And I still do. I had and have now a critical attitude toward the ideological base of this party, which is Marxism-Leninism. As far as the present is concerned, I do not think that these ideas present a blueprint for the road of this country to the future. On the other hand I am convinced that this republic needs a strong leftist political component, part of which could also be the Communist Party.

[NEDELNA PRAVDA] As far as I know, even in spite of your attitude toward the Communist Party, you never took the position that it should be trampled down deep into the ground, as do some of those who in the past "merrily" sponged on it. That gives me the courage to ask the next question, whether it is possible that you do not feel a desire for revenge and hatred toward the regime which for you held even prison.

[Carnogursky] To tell the truth, the previous regime presented me with many an interesting situation. Not only my activities, but also the procedures of the other side, that is, the state, the Communist Party, including the State Security, I understood as something of a game. I learned to play it quite well, and so I did not suffer that much. When I recall the past era, very interesting and exciting moments spring to mind...

[NEDELNA PRAVDA] I came to the opinion even earlier that you are a strong personality. Unfortunately, we have arrived now at a situation where people cannot stand the burden of the deeds which they committed at one time in the firm belief that they were correct, and they resolve their problem by suicide.

[Carnogursky] I consider suicide a cowardly way out of a life situation, an inability to face up to accusations or to admit certain guilt. My view of suicide is also influenced by my religion, which forbids it. For these reasons I cannot feel respect for people who are capable of taking their own life.

[NEDELNA PRAVDA] I have one more, a truly personal, question. I do not know if you are married and have a family. If yes, how did those closest to you endure the various humiliations, what gave them the strength to bear them?

[Carnogursky] I can answer the first part of the question by saying yes, I am married and I have four children. But as far as the second one is concerned.... Look, my father was a representative during the time of the Slovak state. I was born in 1944, so maybe I had somewhat better quality diapers than other babies. But while I was still a child, I experienced what in the current terminology is called discrimination. After finishing elementary school I was unable to gain admission to a high school in Bratislava, and I started attending it later in Kezmarok. And although I graduated with all top grades, I lost three years before I was able to start law school. These problems taught me to play the game which I mentioned earlier. From that point of view I did not consider it a tragedy for the family if, let us say, the children were



threatened with something. In the end it even turned out not be so terrible and we were able to overcome it. You know, when a man stands firm on a position, and is not willing to give even an inch under any circumstances, then the other side retreats. That is my experience, that has always happened thus far. The best proof of that is the fact that today I am a member of the government.... And as far as the family is concerned, I never had the problem that my wife would advise me to make a compromise. I suspect that together with the children she joined in that really interesting game.

[NEDELNA PRAVDA] Mr Carnogursky, I have prepared several other questions, but the time that you designated has almost passed. I guess it would be a good idea if we came back to the current situation. In Slovakia, too, more political parties are emerging. For example, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party is trying to increase its influence here, then there is the Party of Christian Socialism. It is already clear to me that the Christian-Democratic movement is closest to you. What is its mission and its goals?

[Carnogursky] We really have only a few minutes left, so just briefly: The movement will take as its starting point the Christian-social doctrine, and will endeavor to apply it to our specific conditions. When I begin to enumerate the goals which we have, I can tell you that they are identical to those which other political parties also have, including the Communist Party.

The Christian-Democratic movement, however, will concretize them with a view to the principles of Christian ethics. We have an advantage over the others in having a broad base of the faithful in Slovakia. We have a broad intellectual base and in addition the support of the Christian-Democratic movement in Western Europe. I trust it will not sound too presumptuous when I say that by combining all these elements we could create a social movement which could perhaps lead the republic out of the crisis.

#### **More on Program of Party of Czech Countryside**

90EC0338A Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech  
15 Feb 90 p 7

[Unattributed article: "Why the Party of Czech Countryside is Being Established"]

[Text]

#### **Party of Czech Countryside**

A political party of all occupational groups and all strata of the population of the countryside engaged in agriculture, forestry, fishery, in services and education, or commuting to cities to work,

A political party of all who have ties to the countryside and wish to work for its benefit.

#### **Goals and Tasks:**

- A modern, democratic state;
- Consistent respect of citizens' rights;
- Local self-government of villages and towns;
- Care for the environment;
- Guarantees of social securities of the inhabitants of the countryside;
- Equality of all forms of ownership, legal guarantees for developing private entrepreneurship (particularly in the area of agricultural production and services);
- Revival of depopulated areas, particularly in the border regions;
- Support for cultural individuality of the countryside; and
- Cultural activities, education, and general personality development of the rural population, care for children and young people.

#### **Mission of the Party:**

Achieving a political, ecological, economic, moral, and cultural rebirth of the countryside.

Announced program of the Party of Czech Countryside published in ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY on 28 December 1989.

Many letters directed at the planning committee of the Party of Czech Countryside keep arriving, in which citizens from the countryside (but also from towns) express their views on the program of the Party of Czech Countryside. We received a letter which expresses a negative attitude toward the efforts of the planning committee. We do not have a reason to think that such attitude is an isolated case, and we would therefore like to answer it. Reader J.T. (he did not give his address, so obviously he does not wish to be named) writes: "I heard on the radio several days ago that you are establishing a new political party, which is to be an analogue of the already functioning agrarian party. I beg you, do not do it, and if you have already taken concrete steps in this matter, cancel everything. After all, by having many political parties take part in the free elections we only play into the hands of the communists. The more the opposition to the communists splinters, the more the Communist Party will be strengthened. True, a coalition will perhaps be formed, or, in other words, several parties will share a ticket, but it is not after all guaranteed that all parties will join this coalition. I beg you once more, give this matter serious thought, and do not establish another political party."

We think that this view would be justified as long as the already existing party—the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party—would truly be a party of our agrarians. We are afraid, however, that that is not entirely the case. We know that in the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party there are many people who really are interested in the problems of developing agricultural production, but we also know that in this party there are too many people who are interested in their own needs rather than in the needs of the agrarians, who would like to go from the cushy jobs

sponsored by the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] membership card to jobs sponsored by the membership card of the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party; in short, such people who transfer from one party to another as they would from one train to another. Nevertheless, we are not interested in inciting a confrontation with the CPCZ or the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party. Although we condemn the CPCZ for all the bad it has done in the past, if its proclaimed effort to achieve an internal rebirth and democratization is sincere, if it really wants to be a constructive component of our society, then there is no reason to regard it as an "enemy". And the same also goes, of course, for its allies. Our party is concerned primarily about the countryside itself, about its current overall condition. Few of the existing or emerging parties concern themselves with the countryside as a separate complex of mutually intertwined problems. Inasmuch as they direct their attention to the countryside, they do so primarily from the economic point of view. But the problem of the countryside is not only the problem of agricultural production! It is an equally serious cultural, ecological, political, and social problem. Today it is being said not only that the countryside is "conservative", it is even being said that the countryside is living beyond its means.... It defies understanding why we hear such comments precisely today—after all, not so long ago we were taking the former regime to task for praising our standard of living and measuring it by the number of television sets, cars, and washing machines, whereas the criteria scale of the standard of living is far more extensive than that—healthy environment, quality of the social climate, culture and the general development of life and work, etc. More than half of the inhabitants of our country live in the countryside—and few asked them, or are asking them now, their opinion; they themselves previously have not had the possibility to express their views on the general state of the environment in which they live, and they still have too few such opportunities now. Why do not the media direct more of their attention at the countryside, the real everyday life of the population in the countryside, their problems!? Anyone who ever thought about how the countryside could, and in fact should, look cannot remain unconcerned when he sees the devastated nature, fields destroyed by the wrong farming technology, generally damaged or disrupted relations among people, lack of professional pride (unfortunately, mostly among rural young people), severed links to the countryside and the soil, as well as the deformed relationship to one's own place of birth. Certainly not everything is totally catastrophic, but the countryside lives in an abnormal state. This state was not always inherent in the countryside, it was brought to it by force, and much care will be needed to improve it. It is, of course, a problem of the entire society, not only of the countryside, but the countryside will have to do its own share to solve it. For that it will also need, among other things, its own political party. A party which will conceive of the countryside as a specific and distinctive whole, which will solve the question of improving the situation in the countryside as a complex of mutually

interdependent individual problems, and which will be able to push through solutions appropriate or necessary for the countryside also by political means. It should be a party which will succeed in reviving democratic traditions in the countryside and create free and equal relationships which will be able to prevent a repeated return of totalitarianism, with which, we hope, we have disassociated ourselves for ever. We think that the Party of Czech Countryside has a chance to be just such a party. That is why we think that establishing it is the right thing to do.

### Struggle for Countryside Still Undecided

90EC0298A Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech  
9 Feb 90 p 3

[Article by Pavel Kacer: "Countryside at the Crossroads"]

[Text] There can be no doubt that at the present time a hard struggle is going on in our countryside for the attitudes, thoughts, and feelings of the common folk. What road will the village take in the future? That is a question hardly anyone dares answer now because tomorrow may show him to have been wrong. But one thing can be said already now: the countryside is standing somewhat apart from the revolutionary events in society. This is a sentiment shared even by the country people themselves.

This situation tends to benefit defenders of the old structures. They are reinforcing their positions and preparing for long-term trench warfare. It is not true that their final collapse is merely a matter of time. There are ample reasons to believe that in this struggle time is on their side. The longer their mimicry lasts the more palatable it will become to democracy.

It is that people there feel best how "far from Prague" they are. Who dominates the rostrum in the village? Undoubtedly it is the agricultural enterprises and the National Committees—more precisely, their leading representatives. The sovereign rulers of our countryside will not just lay down their arms voluntarily. For if they quit the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] and fashionably declare themselves non-party or join the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party, they will usually not lose their high posts and continue to have undiminished influence on shaping local affairs.

It is little wonder that village people observe this situation feeling that they are being continually deceived, that they are the target of a dishonest game. Their livelihood still depends on the powerholders who have not changed since 17 November. They continue to live in a rather schizophrenic situation: for what is good on the highest level is being countermanded in the daily practice of their locality. For them the main authority remains the cooperative chairman and the National Committee chairman, in most cases the same people who share undeniable responsibility for the decline of their village. The Civic Forums here often wage a struggle for their

place in the sun, but oftentimes address personal disputes rather than basic substantive issues.

A better situation can be seen in places where Communists never held unchecked power. In the predominantly Catholic Moravian countryside the people sense a great political force in the reborn Czechoslovak Peoples Party. Its program provides for concrete steps aimed at dismantling the outdated structures and creation of a permanent democratic atmosphere. Nevertheless we see that the arrangement of political forces continues to be unfavorable and the struggle for the countryside far from decided. On the contrary, it seems that the struggle must only begin because the democrats have not yet managed to get out of their deeply defensive position.

We do not want to press only narrow partisan interests in the context of the pre-election campaign struggle. We are concerned with more—whether the old concept of a socialist countryside with developed large-scale production will be maintained, or whether solid ground will be gained for privatization and the dismantling of power monopolies. Will our village remain substantially as it has been until now, or will it change its face?

Defenders of the good old times argue on a high scientific level. We hear it from those speaking for the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party, National Committees.... The refrain is that Czechoslovakia has succeeded in achieving a concentration of agriculture which the rest of the world is only waiting for. In this view, we have gained a favorable advance and now the job is to make proper use of it.

We cannot of course agree with such arguments. Not only because an advanced agriculture is based almost exclusively on family farms and allows concentration only to a certain degree, but especially because the mania for gigantism in the countryside has led to more damage than benefit. The consequences of decisions that were faulty from the outset was something we did not want to see in the past if they refuted the so-called achievements of socialism.

The Czechoslovak Peoples Party regards it as essential to restore the farmer's relationship to land, the people's relationship to their community and honest work. But how can one motivate those who for four decades were raised on opposite principles?

For the believing citizen these ties were never completely broken even though the machinery of the state did its best to see it happen. If we can do away with the alienation of man from the land, property, and community, we will have a citizen enjoying full rights and working enthusiastically for the renewal of the country.

It is not the cold dehumanized giants where the human personality is lost in the gears of an anonymous mechanism, but rather private initiative buttressed by love of the land, respect for one's own work as well as the work of others, that can lead the countryside out of the economic, ecological, and above all moral morass. In

that is the force which impels man to begin again and again, from time immemorial to current generations....

### Security Members Said To Hinder Investigation

90EC0313A Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech  
13 Feb 90 p 1

[Article by F. Ruzicka: "Without Kid Gloves: Today's Affliction—Total Loss of Memory"]

[Text] Yesterday I arrived at the entrance to the Parliament a couple of minutes after a member of the State Security Corps who, on 17 November, had used the code name "F. Ruzicka." When I heard him introducing himself with his real name (which I had learned from the Commission for Independent Investigation), I tried to get a few words out of the lieutenant.

In vain—all he could tell me was that he was "no longer riding in it." We were going upstairs to a room where "Ruzicka" was scheduled to testify before the "Commission for Supervision of Investigation of the Events of 17 November." At the door a television camera films us, but the pseudo-Ruzicka covered his face with RUDE PRAVO.

All morning the parliamentary commission waited in vain for some revelation from "Ruzicka"—but he came up with a request that a document be issued to him to release him from secrecy. That was a characteristic moment for the tedious work of the whole commission which intends to proceed in the future at full speed. But is it not too late?

In an article published on 2 December 1989, we mentioned that the sentence for the so-called shredding of documents is ten years—however, yesterday we learned from Attorney A. Kubiak, a member of the investigation group at the Office of the General Prosecutor of the CSR [Czech Socialist Republic], that many written documents had been destroyed by the State Security Corps, and that there were no tape recordings to prove, for example, M. Stepan's personal involvement. A. Kubiak: "If people think that the 'M. Stepan case' is a cut-and-dried matter, they are very much mistaken. It is high time for the public to learn that no direct causal connection exists between M. Stepan's conduct and the massacre on Narodni Avenue. We have no such specific evidence. M. Stepan is being prosecuted for the criminal act of planning to abuse his authority as a public servant."

M. Stepan's detention on remand ends on 23 February 1990; the investigation of his involvement continues, but certain witnesses are simply unwilling to remember a thing.

That afternoon the commission encountered another such problem when the "paper" releasing "Ruzicka" from secrecy was issued. The hearings produced hardly any results—because he alleged that on 17 November 1989 on Narodni Avenue he had been hit on the head and for that reason, he was unable to remember anything at all. How was "Ruzicka" found? Attorney J. Danisz, a



member of the Commission, noted: "It is known that he was among the marchers from Albertov to Narodni Avenue. When for days afterward he was nowhere to be found, it was presumed that he was dead. So there was an investigation which ascertained that he was a lieutenant of the State Security Corps. This confirms, among other things, also the lack of competence on the part of his superiors—the whole thing would have blown apart if they had not kept "Ruzicka" secret for two months and if they had let him "work" among students (SVO-BODNE SLOVO editor's note: he had completed the study course at the Mining College)."

The "Ruzicka" case confirms also to the fact that the powers that be simply failed to consider the possibility that they might lose their positions and, for a change, find themselves on the bench as defendants.

From the attorney, Lieutenant Colonel P. Dite, we learn that as concerns the procedures of military prosecution, 18 persons have been charged, with three more to be added, and that two high-ranking officers have been released from detention. A team of 24 lawyers is preoccupied with the investigation.

The key witness in the case of the "dead student" of 17 November failed to appear. It is obvious that this again hinders the commission's work; however, experts are convinced that even the testimony by the author of that notorious rumor cannot affect to any major extent the results of the commission's work. In my view, we are far too late with the fighting spirit and with appropriate strict measures. Unfortunately, the State Security Corps acted much faster.

### Klimova Talks About Her Job in Washington

90EC0297 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech  
2 Feb 90 p 3

[Interview with Rita Klimova, ambassador to the United States, by Ivana Stepankova; place and date not given: "The Woman Whose Task It Is To Create a New Image of Czechoslovakia in the United States"]

[Text] Facing me in the living room is a petite gray-haired woman with lively eyes. Her hand movements and the pronounced "r's" are the same as 22 years ago when I faced her exactly like today. At that time as a student I responded haltingly to her questions on the economics of capitalism: the newly appointed Ambassador of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to the U.S. Rita Klimova (age 58). Until 1968 she was a member of the Komensky University's chair of political economy, subsequently a dissident making a living of her knowledge of English, now a pensioner to take a trip beyond the ocean as a representative of the new democratic Czechoslovakia. The first woman in the history of our diplomacy to hold such a post.

[MLADA FRONTA] Surely there is no use asking if you ever thought that you would become an ambassador. What really did you want to become when you were a child?

[Rita Klimova] A saleswoman in a stationery store, and this recollection of a long time ago makes me smile. To this day I like to go to stationery stores and I always buy something extra there.

[MLADA FRONTA] You certainly will have a lot of fun in American stationery stores. Incidentally, after your parents fled the Nazis to the U.S. you lived in New York until you were 15. Did you ever go back there after the war?

[Klimova] I wasn't in America for 42 years. Only last year, when I already was a retiree. It was because recently my translation of Jiri Weil's book "Life With a Star" was published in the U.S. I was asked to come by the American writer Philip Roth, who in turn was instigated by Ivan Klima. I spent 12 years translating the novel—by pieces, always a chapter as a treat amidst the gray tedium of uninteresting translations I had to do for a living. Then I sent it through secret channels to America where the book was published by the prestigious Farrar, Straus and Giroux publishing firm. I did not even sign my name for the translation because at that time this was possible only through the Dilia [literary agency] which then would not have accepted me. Nevertheless, in 1988 I got some money, so that last year I spent a month in the United States and Canada—staying with a relative and friends...

[MLADA FRONTA] What was your impression of America after 42 years?

[Klimova] I spent some time on Long Island, made a trip to Washington. I felt very well there, and even though my friends warned me I did recognize my America. Understandably, some things have improved, some got worse... There are more autos, more rush, new skyscrapers. What has gotten worse is mainly the racial situation. When I as a little girl attended a New York school where many pupils were black, the blacks were poor and honest. Racist comments at the expense of blacks were unthinkable. And there was no reason for that. The black boys may have been sometimes rather more aggressive toward white girls, but it wasn't anything to make a fuss about. Now there are many more blacks in the middle and upper classes, they are doing well. But on the other hand there are also more drug addicts, violent criminals, incomplete black families, children in the street. My acquaintances have even warned me against using the subway, but ultimately I did with no problem. America has remained my love.

When just before Christmas Jiri Dienstbier offered me the U.S. ambassadorship, I was surprised—as probably was he—at how I accepted it without hesitation and with enthusiasm.

[MLADA FRONTA] As an interpreter at press conferences in the Magic Lantern you have become "the voice of the velvet revolution to the world." Had you been previously acquainted with Vaclav Havel who called you to the Lantern?

[Klimova] Prague is small and the dissident Prague was even smaller, so that there was a friendship forged with



V. Havel and later I began to translate for him. He does speak English but still an interpreter is sometimes useful. In 1986 the director of the British Royal Shakespeare Society came to Prague wanting to stage Havel's "Temptation." In the pub in the evening the gentlemen did well enough without help, but afterward the director wanted to go over scene after scene with the author so he would understand the text and the atmosphere of the play. And that was when V. Havel invited me. It was earlier in Vienna that the play was staged without much success, evidently because on each word they grafted a second or third meaning and turned out a would-be Kafkaesque production. It was important for the author to convey to the director his idea of the stage production, and indeed the performance then was very successful and got many favorable reviews.

[MLADA FRONTA] Are you not going to feel lonely in Washington without your family?

[Klimova] I have a son and a daughter, and now also three grandchildren. It would be my wish that my opportunity becomes also their opportunity. My son is a fledgling journalist and in the summer he and his entire family will come to visit with me. My daughter has not yet expressed her feelings; she has her work in the National Gallery specializing in Gothic art for which she has more opportunities here than in America. An ambassador is entitled to a home leave in Prague only after 2 years, so I will probably be homesick, certainly miss direct contact with what is happening at home.

[MLADA FRONTA] So you will be a diplomat by profession. Do you think that you are a diplomat in your personal life?

[Klimova] I'm afraid not at all. Rather the contrary is the truth. I have a tendency to say things which are not overly diplomatic. In my job of a diplomat I have to be careful, must try to think through what I say and do. To say less—as precisely and deliberately as possible. But Americans are very direct and capable of forgiving even a diplomat on occasion.

[MLADA FRONTA] Your departure is approaching rapidly. How are you preparing yourself and what are your ideas of diplomacy?

[Klimova] (Mrs Klimova reaches for the "Diplomatic Practice" handbook prompting Herbert the photographer to rise from the floor; he is busily clicking the shutter.) Diplomacy in my view combines knowledge of the given country, familiarity with the overall political situation, plus a healthy common sense and language facility. I showed this handbook to Jiri Dienstbier and said I found it well written. But of course he opened it just in the place where it discussed a socialist concept of diplomacy. Yet when we discount that bit of ideological sauce we are left with a very substantial guide to practice.

I already have many offers to give lectures in California, Ohio, and elsewhere. Czechoslovakia is now very much in fashion. Even here in Prague there have been many

offers of contacts, with interest being shown also by Czech and Slovak countrymen in the U.S. So for instance I received a letter from a husband-and-wife team of biochemists who would like to come here for a year's stay to help the country of their ancestors in the ecological field.

I believe that in the U.S. we must expand our consular services. I found out for instance that Sweden has dozens of consulates in the United States while we have none outside of Washington. Visa applicants from the entire U.S. must either mail their passport or travel to get a visa, something that is no longer acceptable. And this despite the fact that it is not that costly to open a consulate: it can be even handled by a so-called honorary consul from among our countrymen who does not need more than a secretary. I am traveling to the U.S. with counselor Milos Chrobok who began his diplomatic service 20 years ago. I know a little about that work from earlier: my husband Zdenek Klima, who died in 1980, was in 1969 dismissed from the Foreign Ministry.

[MLADA FRONTA] You will be ambassador to one of the superpowers; do you already know your colleague who will represent Czechoslovakia in Moscow?

[Klimova] Yes, we know each other well; it is Rudolf Slansky Jr. Like myself he spent part of his childhood in the country where he is going to be posted; the Slansky family lived in Moscow during the war. I think that after the years of subordination he will press for a partner-like relationship with the Soviet Union which will be formed on entirely new foundations, especially after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from our country.

[MLADA FRONTA] Are you looking forward to presenting your credentials in the White House?

[Klimova] Last year I was in the White House as a tourist; the surroundings there are modest, simple and yet it is a place through which has flowed the history of the U.S. I have no fear of meeting President Bush, perhaps only that I might do something that is not proper... I had the Eva enterprise tailor me a black tuxedo-style suit, the only luxury for this occasion. The ceremony will evidently take place soon after my arrival in Washington so that I can be truly an ambassador plenipotentiary already during the February visit of the Czechoslovak president.

[MLADA FRONTA] In the U.S. you will contribute your share to creating the image of a new Czechoslovakia. How in your view should American-Czechoslovak relations develop?

[Klimova] I believe there are three reasons why Czechoslovak-American relations are special. First, the U.S. played an important role in the establishment of a modern Czechoslovak state in 1918, a fact that wasn't mentioned too often during the past four decades here. Second, according to 1980 data there are 2.8 million people living in the U.S. who claim Czech or Slovak ancestry. This year's census in the U.S. is expected to

raise this number, on the theory that after the changes in Czechoslovakia more Americans will affirm their Czech or Slovak origins. And the third reason: for years the fact remained unmentioned that Americans helped in the liberation of Czechoslovakia in 1945 and suffered many casualties.

The U.S. is a rich country and, let us hope, a big-hearted one as well. Of all things the first on my agenda will be trying to arrange for their help in the area of education: teachers of English, student exchanges. Let us hope that in addition to "Uncle Sam"—meaning the government—we will get help also from private foundations and our countrymen. We have already received a number of offers but it will be more complicated to translate them into action.

Economic contacts are unquestionably a very important area in Czechoslovak-American relations. As an economist I believe that our economy will not need grants or loans as Poland is now compelled to ask for. The Czechoslovak economy faces a number of problems but none of them could be resolved by such a loan. We need to change the way our producers conduct their business, and this could not be assured by loans. Loans would make sense in the event of large-scale structural changes. Of course we will continue opening up the Czechoslovak economy to the world, we will welcome investment by American companies, but on commercial principles. They should invest here primarily because it would offer them an advantage. Let us hope that we will manage the transition to a market economy without increasing our foreign debt. If it does increase, then only under circumstances in which the loan is quickly and easily repaid. Usually it is not necessary to ask for a government loan; we can be helped by private banks. The American or other Western government could then provide guarantees for private bank loans. But this is a matter for the finance minister.

In the near future the American side will return MFN to us, and this will normalize our economic relations. But we should not expect a radical increase in the volume of our trade with the United States: we don't have many exportable products, or added capacity to produce those which are in demand. We are also in negotiations to have the Americans remove or liberalize the discriminatory rules on high-technology exports. COCOM, where the Americans are dominant, determined which products have strategically important components, and those were then banned for export to socialist bloc countries.

So if we don't intend to seek gifts in the economic area we stand the better chance to seek "gifts" in the area of education and culture which are now important to us and do not represent any substantial burden for the American side.

I fly to Washington on 12 February. Then I'll be in for the much-desired though hard work: I will endeavor to create a new image of Czechoslovakia in American eyes. The need for it is great in my opinion, because here a field has been left barren or unplowed after my predecessors. You know, I

should be younger, by 10 years at the least. All these changes in our country should have taken place 10 years ago, and where would we be now! In 1968-69 we used to say that this dark age cannot last more than 5 or 10 years. And you see, it lasted 20 years.

#### **New Ambassador to Moscow Talks About His Task** *90EC0354A Prague TVORBA in Czech 28 Feb 90 p 4*

[Interview with Rudolf Slansky by Milan Syrucek; place and date not given: "Equality is Best"—first paragraph is TVORBA introduction]

[Text] To pay a visit to Eng Rudolf Slansky always held something of a risk: in the fifties because he was the son of the former general secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee who became a victim of the contrived trials, in the seventies because he signed Charter 77 and the other signatories used to meet in his apartment in a Vokovice apartment building. And now it was difficult to arrange a meeting with him because he is a man on the move: he was packing his bags for a long trip to Moscow, where he is to assume the post of Czechoslovak ambassador. Therefore this visit was not a relaxed chat over a cup of coffee either. He was a few minutes late for this meeting, too, because he had already met with the Minister of Defence that morning. After that, other visitors were waiting for him. It is obvious even in his face that for the last few days, maybe weeks, he has not had time for a good night's sleep. It is hardly to be expected that the first days of his stay in Moscow will be restful; his first task is to prepare the visit of our president.

This 55-year-old, newly minted diplomat is not traveling to the USSR for the first time. He spent six war years and started school there, and he still depends on that knowledge of the Russian language, because subsequently he only visited the Soviet Union twice for two weeks at a time. But he allows, of course, that he has been following the Russian press regularly for some time, and that he reads books—"Children of the Arbat" among the latest. My first question: your favorite writers?

[Slansky] Granin, Rasputin, Solzhenitsyn, Pristavkin.... I cannot name all of them, I read a lot, even though my literary and political sympathies are not always identical.

[TVORBA] With which prominent Soviet creative personality would you like to get personally acquainted now, during your stay in Moscow?

[Slansky] With the greatest number of smart, wise people who will also help me in developing mutual relations. I have my own personal preferences, of course, and I hope that now I shall have the opportunity to make such acquaintances.

[TVORBA] Since we are talking about mutual cultural relations, how will they develop?

[Slansky] I believe that it is necessary to give up the current practice of having formal contacts—between

ministries, creative associations, friendship days. We need to develop truly creative, informal relations, and we need not be afraid of establishing cultural contacts on a commercial basis either. That way the formal will disappear and we shall be able to choose what really interests us. Certain negative aspects of commercialization will appear, to be sure, but that will be precisely the area of our cultural-political activity.

[TVORBA] But that probably will not be the main problem you will be dealing with in your activities. With what ideas are you starting out in your function as our ambassador to the USSR?

[Slansky] I am mindful that Czechoslovakia lies between Russia and Germany, and none of us has the power to change this simple fact of geography. Czechoslovak policy since the last century, and particularly since Masaryk, has been oriented always toward a balance of power between the great powers in our sphere. The developments in the Soviet Union as well as in Germany are very dynamic, and perhaps no one is able to precisely judge what the situation will be even in the very near future. I am therefore departing with the idea that our country was, is, and will be interested in the best of relations with the USSR, regardless of what course these relations took in the past. We must simply take certain factors into consideration as constants, and work with them as such. My task will be to maintain even under the present complicated conditions the best possible relations with the Soviet Union.

[TVORBA] Concerning those relations: do you think that a number of things will have to be rectified, upgraded in some areas—what will be the priorities of your Moscow activities?

[Slansky] If you talk about rectifying—what is needed, above all, is to put relations on an entirely equal basis. Up till now they were influenced by the fact that our country did not enjoy an entirely full sovereignty. The circumstances which diminished this sovereignty will be, to my mind, put into a proper relationship in a short time. It will be possible to build them as relations between two states and not between political parties, power groups which happen to hold power in a given country at the time. As relations between states which have their own interests, their own needs and priorities.

[TVORBA] Other than the presence of Soviet forces here, are these relations burdened by other problems?

[Slansky] I believe that is the basic problem. If we remove it, we shall have created very good conditions for normalization—I am using this expression because at issue is to have really normal relations as with any other country in the world. There are a number of other areas where we shall also have to normalize many things. Some of them concern formal agreements; sooner or later we will have to revise many agreements which are in force between our two countries, and change everything that

was influenced by the time in which they were negotiated, possibly negotiate some new agreements. Naturally, there will also be a number of practical tasks. For example, the economy—our commercial ties will have to be put on a new basis if we are going to build a mutual market economy: using world prices, convertible currencies, and, until our currencies become convertible, an open access to the Soviet market by our enterprises and vice versa, etc. The same applies to cultural relations, education. For example, sending our students to those Soviet schools which are better or of the type and fields of study we do not have at home.

[TVORBA] You are an economist, will you therefore give priority to economic relations?

[Slansky] I am naturally interested in economic questions, but my first task is political relations between our countries, and task, let us say, "1a", not "2", is economic problems. Our common goal, however, will be to create political conditions for good economic relations, the activities themselves will be a matter for the businessmen.

TVORBA comment: Let us stay with the economy for a moment. Rudolf Slansky came to the study of economics by a somewhat circuitous route; in 1953, after his father's trial, he had to interrupt his studies and became a laborer—a press operator, milling machine operator, etc., first in a North Bohemian enterprise, later in Prague-Smichov in Czechoslovak-Kolben-Danek Diesel Engines. While he was working, he graduated from high school; afterwards he worked in economic management, but in 1969 he again lost his job and was thrown out of the CPCZ which he joined in 1965.

[TVORBA] In 1969 you strongly supported workers' councils and their democratic form. Do you consider the idea of enterprise self-management relevant even under current conditions?

[Slansky] I believe that the question of enterprise self-management is on a different footing than it was 21 years ago. We searched for the best system to manage essentially state enterprises, socialized enterprises, those, where the state owned the capital. Now we are changing over entirely to a market economy model. There will be capitalists here—people owning capital. Under those circumstances we must view the questions of self-management differently. Fundamental to the functioning of enterprises in a market economy will be the ability of these enterprises to maximize the productivity of capital. I believe that this ability is tied to the owners' interest in maximizing productivity. The problem of enterprise self-management today is different. The model of self-management which we basically copied from Yugoslavia is not appropriate for these conditions. We should look for inspiration elsewhere, in West European systems, for example, in the German system of participation, where workers' representatives, whether through trade unions or other organizations, share in the



management of the enterprise while at the same time the role of the owners of the capital is not affected.

[TVORBA] Besides what we used to call workers' participation in management, there is another necessary and equally neglected social function: to defend the interests of the workers in social matters against the employers. Do you believe that the new trade unions will be able to carry it out?

[Slansky] They must be able to carry it out. Thus far they are not in such a position, but people will force them to defend their interests.

[TVORBA] The structure which you called participation, should it be or should it not be parallel with the trade unions, in your opinion?

[Slansky] It is debatable whether such a parallel structure makes sense. I am a little sceptical about it, because the primary concerns of people in the workplace are those of employment rather than production. And moreover, the main thing in the enterprises will be the efficiency of capital, and that, after all, can best be judged by its owner, either a capitalist or the state. Not only judge it, but above all ensure it.

[TVORBA] In the past we used to think of these as separate functions, but it is a question which has been debated for years, and is connected today with entirely new approaches which we shall have to get used to. That is not a problem of the economy only, and therefore let us better get back to politics: at the round table there was also a question about relations with the Warsaw Pact.

[Slansky] That is a complicated question and perhaps no one can essentially answer it. As our representatives already stated, we shall remain a member of this Pact as long as it exists and fulfills its functions. But all around us turbulent processes are taking place—the reunification of Germany, democratization in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, profound changes in the USSR. For that reason it will probably be necessary to give the task of the Warsaw Pact a new substance. To discuss what we will expect from it. The best thing would be to liquidate both blocs, but so long as they exist they are the guarantors of a balance of power and peace. There is no need to put the cart before the horse. When the time is ripe for liquidating both blocs or maintaining them on a substantially lower level, all of us will probably be able to discuss it together.

[TVORBA] Even a "sensitive" question such as this came up: it is known that behind the trials of the fifties were Russian advisors and thus also Soviet direction. Will not your present relationship to the USSR be influenced by the fact that during the trials your family suffered as well?

[Slansky] The question of the political trials is not a problem which I should be solving in my new function. Much was clarified in 1964, in 1968 (the well known Ciler commission), and much will be researched today—

but now it all belongs primarily to the historians, not politicians. It has been going on for at least 40 years, and thus belongs to historians. Just as I do not think that the Czechoslovak people are responsible for Jakes, I do not think that the Soviet people are responsible for Stalin. The crucial point is that I am not going to the USSR harboring any prejudices against the Soviet people. On the contrary, because I lived there as a child, it can be said that the opposite is true.

### Impact of Communist Rule on Czech Countryside Explored

90EC0349A Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech  
27 Feb 90 p 3

[Article by P. Kacer: "Our Comment: Honest Bread"]

[Text] By the state highway near Chroustovice, in the shade of ancient trees, stands a cross with Christ's figure. However, the passersby are not moved by the symbol of piety alone, but perhaps even more by the woeful state of this sculpture with a religious motif. I do not think that this is the work of the vandalism of recent years or months, or that we do not see similar evidence of cultural "maturity" of a certain era other than in the Chrudim region. Exactly the opposite. Thus far nobody has bothered, and it will obviously require a superhuman effort, to ascertain the true extent of the damage to cultural religious relics dispersed around our country through the centuries. But was the attack against the silent statues and crosses really only an attack against "clericalism"? Certainly not. The assault was directed at the very spiritual substance of the nation, its aim was to sever the roots of the rural man which tied him to the land. A farmer who for generations cultivated the land on his family homestead was, above all, bound to it emotionally. His life was one of love of the land and of everything he created, and he left this legacy to his sons. The many religious sculptures are also an expression of thanksgiving in the countryside and they lend the place an inimitable magic, diversity, and uniqueness. History is recorded in them—from happy years to famines, about fateful events and the spirit of the times. Even a cross with broken arms and a disfigured Christ give testimony and hold out a mirror. They are mute but eloquent witnesses of the past 40 decades in the Czech countryside, of the Communists' policy which was not satisfied with destroying only living people. This policy had its continuation and culmination in the brutal intervention against the students on Narodni Trida, but in another form its consequences are evident in agriculture. Is not the devastated soil yielding poisonous food or the ravaged and desolate border region an equal reason for protest as is the spilled blood of innocent people? I do not wish now to paint everything only in dark colors and fall into an opposite extreme. But it so happens that after 17 November the standards by which we must measure our own work, morality, and life, but also the actions of others, were changed for all of us. What we previously considered to be trivial or of less concern because we had more important tasks, for example, how to become



self-sufficient, from today's perspective these "trifles" appear to be of prime importance. Yes, I am talking about morality, about the moral health of this society which must again search for certainties. The rural man has always been attached to the land and through it to God. Now we would like to return to a land that is alive—not to a lifeless matter which serves us as a substratum for the agricultural mass production of food. It is a requirement that is more ethical than ecological or economic. But how can one tell a worker in plant production, a young tractor operator for example, that he should love the land he cultivates? How can one awaken in him an emotional relationship to a 300-hectare tract of land which does not yield any signs of "humanization", how can one elicit the right caring relationship in a milker working in a large-capacity dairy, where until now the animals were thought of as production machines or necessarily suffering slaves? This unfortunate legacy, which the real socialism bequeathed to us, we shall overcome with great difficulties, but that we have to reject it and quickly cultivate different attitudes, does not need to be emphasized.

### **Emigres Urged To Support Transformation Efforts**

90EC0317A Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech  
6 Jan 90 p 1

[Article by Karel Pacner: "The Expellees"]

[Text] Our country has experienced three waves of mass emigration for political reasons. The first followed the tragic White Mountain battle in the beginning of the 17th century, another took place after February 1948, and the most recent one after the invasion by Warsaw Pact armies in August 1968. Tens and hundreds of thousands of citizens went into exile. Their exact number has not been revealed to this day by secret archives. Estimates indicate that about 300,000 persons had left Czechoslovakia after the events of 1948 and another 140,000-150,000 after 1968.

As a rule, those who left were morally the strongest and most wholesome individuals, the best professionals. Without such qualities they would have had no chance for survival in unknown foreign countries. As we know, many of them succeeded in finding their niche; many attained high positions in their fields. These three instances of exodus have terribly impoverished the intellectual potential of our nations.

While after the events of 1948 people left of their own volition, the Husak leadership added to their number through forced emigration. In the 1960's and 1970's, hundreds of our experts and artists were working in the West quite legally, on contracts that had been duly approved by our authorities. But suddenly all of them received an order from Prague that they had to return quickly or their passports would be cancelled. However, they all had contracts which they had to fulfill or pay high penalties. They had no other alternative but to stay abroad and become exiles, although, as we know, it was not by their own choosing; they desperately fought that

decision—mainly because they did not want their children to be lost to our nation. In this brutal manner the Husak leadership expelled a good many of its potential critics and opponents who were individuals with experience and who knew the world. Some of our artists, writers and scientists, who in the 1970's did not remain silent and who protested against the dictatorship of the highest leaders of the government, were persecuted for it by the police until they agreed to accept a passport for emigration—and immediately after their departure they were stripped of their citizenship.

Despite all that official arbitrariness, most of those individuals have never forgotten their country. When the situation became more relaxed during the 1960's, the post-February emigres began coming back for a visit. In the late 1970's our border checkpoints were open even to the post-August emigres—naturally, only if they had paid their ransom, in other words, if they had paid a relatively high amount in hard currency allegedly as compensation for their education received in Czechoslovakia. Of course, this benevolence did not apply to the political activists and opponents, but even the other visitors were regarded as dangerous ideological subversives who had to be carefully watched.

Now they are coming without having to wait for the approval of complicated applications for Czechoslovak visa and without any anxiety whatsoever. All of them are coming because, according to the minister of foreign affairs, J. Dienstbier, the list of unwanted persons now contains only individuals with a criminal record, drug smugglers, and the like. Any diplomat who refuses a visa to a former Czechoslovak citizen will be considered untrustworthy and fired.

Initially I used to expect naively that many of our recent emigres would come back. However, most of them do not plan to do so. They have found their place somewhere else, established themselves, and their children have a new home and are accustomed to different standards and a different style of life.... It does not surprise me. They intend to come here in the future without any hindrance, some of them even for extended visits, to learn about the opportunities for the cooperation of their companies with our enterprises; they are considering investments in our industry, trade and services; they are offering scholarships for students as well as jobs in which our people may learn to operate the latest technology. Early last year they were farsighted enough to organize for that purpose the Democratic Association for Assistance headquartered in Vancouver, Canada.

One can see that our emigres are thinking much farther ahead than we did until now. They want to help raise the Czechoslovak Republic as soon as possible up to the level of states with advanced industry and democracy, and to return us as soon as possible to the great family of European nations to which we genetically belong. And only when we achieve that standard by the work of our hands, some of our emigres may begin to contemplate

the possibility of relocating their companies to Prague, Brno, Bratislava and other cities in Czechoslovakia, or of returning to live here in retirement.

Of course, we also must do much for our exiles. The Czechoslovak Foreign Institute, which was thus far permitted to maintain sentimental contacts with our countrymen whose ancestors had left our country for economic reasons before World War II, should now devote more of its efforts to recent emigres. It should help contact those who are looking for partners in our country, and above all, it should care like a mother for the one million or more persons who not so long ago used to be our fellow citizens, and for their descendants. It should do so selflessly, regardless whether or not they are able to make any contribution to Czechoslovakia's renewal. It should care for them and let them know that their old country has never forgotten them, that it still feels something for them even though they are far away and—if they should so decide—that it will always receive them lovingly.

## HUNGARY

### Commentary on Vitanyi Statement Blaming Five Individuals for Crisis

#### FIGYELO Editorial Comment

25000606C Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian  
18 Jan 90 p 5

[Article by Judit Bertalanfalvy: "The Five of Them?"]

[Text] When Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] Presidium Member Ivan Vitanyi announced on television the names of five party leaders who are responsible for the mistakes of the past, the tightly worded statement did not satisfy even the insiders.

The requirements of openness and of informing the public demand that we be able to learn the facts—the proof if you will—even if we know that a thorough party investigation will follow this announcement. We also have a right to expect the people who know the most about this matter to face the public.

Just who is held responsible for something within a party, and who is going to be investigated by a party, may be a party's internal affair. But in this instance there are several reasons why this situation may be ruled out. Here we are dealing with the fate of the entire country, thus this matter can no longer be the internal affair of any individual party. In addition, it is questionable whether the persons named are members of the MSZP, and thus whether one may speak of a formal party investigation.

It has been public knowledge for a long time that in the first part of the 1970's the torpedoing of reform took place. On the other hand, the matter of who torpedoed what, and why, and how remains to be answered. And this matter truly demands a serious investigation. But if

the MSZP knows the names, it must certainly know more than just the names. By now it could certainly have been revealed what the persons whose names were mentioned did to slow reforms, a matter whose consequences the country is now suffering. And what guided their actions, if these persons are indeed responsible? Were these geopolitical considerations to save the country, or were they intentions to do harm motivated by petty personal interests, by fear of losing power, or perhaps malice, or well intended unfitness, incompetence, or ideological conviction? Quite naturally, none of this can serve as an excuse, nevertheless the country wants to know—and from the most authoritative source. But we are only guessing, for the time being.

What are those things we may know, matters that were much talked about in those days? We may know, for example, how a report was prepared in the early seventies, one which shows that following the introduction of reform it was the large industry workers' standard of living that increased the least. Recognizing this fact will not matter, of course. On the other hand, it is a mistake to conclude from this recognition that reform should be blamed for all of this, rather than poor economic policy and a reform process that did not penetrate deep enough.

At the same time some studies were prepared which used facts about the peasantry's increased standard of living to sharply confront the interests of the two classes.

These same circles which disputed the significance and outstanding role of agriculture in the country's economy did not take note of the fact that the reason why Hungary had more goods and a greater choice was not because our industry was superior to the rest of the CEMA countries, but because an incentive to produce more, the consciousness of ownership, prevailed more in agriculture—even within cooperatives—than in large industry.

This is how a situation could come about in which merchandise production was able to increase along with collectivization, and, as a result of increased merchandise production, Hungary could once again become a country which exports grain and meat.

Foreign trade balance statistics show that in 1973 exports actually exceeded imports, not as a result of reduced imports, but because of increased exports. Thus, despite the initial successes of reform, the Politburo, whose members included the five persons named, excluded from its ranks Lajos Feher, the person in charge of agriculture at the highest level, and Rezso Nyers, who was responsible for the development of the economic reform program.

Similarly, there was talk about the fact that the few persons mentioned frequently traveled to the Soviet Union, and we still do not know any details concerning those trips. Aside from obligations stemming from their functions, they probably traveled to the Soviet Union to seek support for their policies which condemned and discouraged reform. Another big question is whether they were invited to go there, or if they went voluntarily.

Still today, we do not know—even though these shuttle trips obviously played a role in this—whether the then prevailing leadership of the Soviet Union branded Hungarian reform, the new economic mechanism, with the "revisionist" label. We also know that there was always a tight group composed mainly of scientists and economic experts in the Soviet Union which sympathized with Hungarian reformers. This, however, did not change the fact that official Moscow accused the Hungarian leadership of restoring capitalism.

The application of the brakes that hindered reform, and thus stopped short the reform in the mid-1970's, is a subject we continue to discuss only bashfully and in impersonal terms. It is most likely "thanks" to that group, to those persons of whom the MSZP presidium member spoke only a few terse, laconic words.

This is true, even though the time has come to publicize the truth, the truth that is certainly known, even if that truth is not the whole truth. Finding out the whole truth will be the result of some lengthy work, some objective research. The importance of clarifying the past and holding to account those responsible is not that of a bone to be thrown to the people. The significance of this rests in the fact that future responsibility cannot be perceived otherwise.

#### No Criminal Liability

25000606C Budapest HETI VILAGGZDAS 1G  
in Hungarian 20 Jan 90 pp 21-22

[Interview with attorney Istvan Nehez-Posony, head of the Independent Lawyers' Forum working committee established to investigate persons responsible for causing Hungary's political and economic crisis, by Zoltan Horvath, place and date not given: "An Expert Lawyer Responds: 'Statements Cannot Serve as Substitutes for the Revelation of History'"—first paragraph is FIGYELO introduction]

[Text] Not too long ago it came as a surprise that a statement released by the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] named five persons who were part of the party leadership in the 1970's as those most responsible for the country's present political and economic situation. This matter is also surprising because, while in countries experiencing more stormy changes in their regimes the issue of the responsibility of earlier leaders is a virtually constant item on the agenda, even if in some places this takes place in extreme forms. At the same time, nothing has happened in Hungary, except for some opposition "outcries" in the form of statements. But aside from sanctions imposed by the people—a matter not desired by anyone—what civilized legal opportunities exist to hold responsible political and economic leaders who made the decisions which drew such grave consequences? We asked attorney Istvan Nehez-Posony (43), the head of a working committee created by the Independent Lawyers' Forum to deal with these issues, how those who erred, and others who knowingly did wrong, could be punished.

[HVG] What does the law provide for: Can statesmen in power, or deprived of power, be held to account or convicted for their earlier actions which proved to be damaging or mistaken?

[Nehez-Posony] They certainly can be held to account and convicted if such actions took the form of a criminal act, but I believe your inquiry covers more than just this situation. The things we are discussing these days in Hungary and in neighboring countries involve the usual, everyday activities of state leadership. In this regard I must say that nowhere does the law contain sanctions for such actions, irrespective of the outcome of a politician's actions. There is much talk about this legal gap, particularly these days, when there are an increasing number of non-evolutionary, revolutionary changes in regimes. In trying to establish a clear slate, the new regime soon discovers that the law is ignorant of the concept of heads of state committing crimes. Accordingly, the top man in the country cannot be punished by law for, let's say, having brought the country into a disadvantageous situation by virtue of his actions, except, of course, if treason is involved.

[HVG] Legislators in pluralist democracies most likely "forgot" about this situation because in their cases the most severe punishment a politician can suffer is the dissolving confidence that comes as a result of a bad decision, followed by losing the election, and a forced removal from power. This possibility, however, was out of the question in Hungary for decades. Thus the people's sense of justice understandably became sensitive with regard to persons—and not necessarily just heads of state—who freely and consistently erred in the absence of any controls, and who now act as if nothing had happened. Accordingly, is it possible that everyone can "get away" with this, considering only the written provisions of law?

[Nehez-Posony] A lawyer must always view codified law, and no crime can exist unless positive law so provides. Despite this, however, the possibility of calling to account cannot be ruled out entirely. In the larger historical perspective, the Nuremberg trial of war criminals may serve as an example, because in this case an international court of law pronounced retroactive judgment on grounds of a genocide charge, even though the concept of genocide did not exist before in a legal sense. Ceausescu's much debated execution will serve as a more recent example. In that case I regard as debatable only the method of punishment, and not its extent. Ceausescu could also have been sentenced to death in a "normal" court proceeding.

[HVG] Why? Personally Ceausescu did not directly commit any capital crime, after all, and if I understood you correctly, Romania's present situation cannot be made the subject of legal judgment. And this can also be applied to other leaders.

[Nehez-Posony] Perhaps it will suffice for me to say that it was Ceausescu who made soldiers shoot at crowds. Thus he issued an order to commit mass murder.



[HVG] Yes, except for the fact that he or his defense lawyer could have argued that the head of state used the powers granted to him by law, and defended the order and security of the state to the best of his ability.

[Nehez-Posony] This, however will not stand up in court because the mass murder that was ordered by far exceeded the extent of necessary defense. Let us just consider—even though this is not a relative matter, of course—how much “softer” the Prague power was in attempting to disperse the crowds.

[HVG] I believe that the main problem in Hungary is also related to these extreme examples. But while in neighboring countries which underwent a revolution the calling to account of officials of the former regime has been placed on the agenda, and has begun already, in Hungary a representative of the old regime deemed to be responsible may continue to function with an unchanged status, without being required to even account for the extent of responsibility he holds.

[Nehez-Posony] I must repeat myself: The concept of damage inflicted upon the country, the so-called people's economy, is not contained in the Criminal Code of Laws. The issue amounts to the fact that legislation in this regard stopped short in 1848, when the law stated that the government is responsible to Parliament, but what exactly this responsibility consists of has not been defined ever since. Society's sense of justice is not false, of course. Both the higher leadership and the professional apparatus may be held to account, but not always by means provided in criminal law. There is an opportunity for the aforementioned sense of justice to gain satisfaction by way of decision rendered on grounds of civil law, the labor law, and other branches of law. There certainly will be several judgments against previous leaders, once the investigation of the culpable actions and of the disciplinary and financial responsibility of these persons begins. I emphasize: All of this can take place in the framework of civil suits. In other words, persons who expect to see executions or the loss or property, or at least severe prison sentences, will be disappointed.

[HVG] Will this not increase dissatisfaction to such an extent that the “people's judgment” will then follow?

[Nehez-Posony] I hope that God will provide that this does not happen. Undoubtedly we must get used to the idea that the sole punishment suffered by those who abused their power and misused assets entrusted to them will be financial loss, the loss of moral credibility, and the exclusion from exercising power. We must recognize that nowhere in the world does criminal law sanction a bad investment, irrespective of whether it was financed by taxpayers' money, unless in the course of implementation some criminal wrongdoing took place.

[HVG] Okay, let's become Europeans! Interestingly, for the time being there is no example for trying to call someone to account on the basis of the aforementioned means provided by civil law, for grave errors, or for causing damage by

“properly” using some bad laws. And I believe that many people's blood boils upon hearing that for these errors and mistakes people received rewards, decorations, and privileges, and that it has not been possible to take these back or revoke them ever since. Whose job would it be to initiate such proceedings?

[Nehez-Posony] No ex-officio proceedings are initiated in civil cases. And let me add here: How could we expect the state to conduct these investigations, which also I regard as important mainly from the standpoint of lessons to be learned for the future, as long as the prosecutors' offices continue to be staffed by the products of the same era as persons against whom they would be supposed to proceed? In such cases complaints and petitions must be filed by legal or natural persons who suffered damages as a result of a certain politician's activities. In this regard, just as in regard to many matters that are part of transformation, the citizen must rely on his own strength, and on the strength of institutions that he himself created.

[HVG] But why does an organization like the Independent Lawyers' Forum, which understands the law and knows how to apply it, not assume the role of the prosecutor?

[Nehez-Posony] Because that is not its function. The Independent Lawyers' Forum cannot become either a prosecutor's office or a committee to verify the past activities of persons. On the other hand, the Forum may play an unquestionably important role in developing the needed legal framework and processes, so that an indispensable, and hopefully a onetime process of holding persons to account in the transition to a multiparty democracy may take place at the earliest possible date. In my view, the main point of view in the course of such actions would not be the satisfaction of our sense of justice, but rather the exploration and understanding of the functional mechanism of the earlier regime, and of course the declaration of the incompetence of those whose actions cannot be remedied. Accordingly, in my view, the Independent Lawyers' Forum could have more important things to do than to initiate and manage proceedings. These would include the initiation of legislation concerning the already mentioned criminal actions by the head of state, damages caused by the use of public power, and the enforcement of responsibility.

[HVG] Could we regard the MSZP's announcement the other day as a first step in the process of calling people to account? In that announcement they designated by name five politicians who were active before as those directly responsible for the present conditions.

[Nehez-Posony] At the moment this amounts to no more than the internal affair of the party, or a party resolution. In other words, the announcement does not constitute a legal proceeding. Such statements cannot serve as substitutes for the revelation of events and for naming those responsible. If the MSZP is serious about these matters it should initiate court proceedings against the named



persons, even more so because the MSZP obviously has a sufficient volume of incriminating documents against these people. Widespread use of these good-for-nothing announcements presents the threat that those responsible will not be sought out and will not be held to account for their actions, but that instead a political reckoning will take place at the political level.

## POLAND

### ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE 'Briefs' Columns

90EP0336A Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE  
in Polish No 1-4; 7, 14, 21, 28 Jan 90

[Excerpts from a weekly news column: "Last Week"]

[No 1, 7 Jan p 2]

[Excerpts]

In Poland [passage omitted] On 30 December 1989, the Council of Ministers, chaired by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, adopted resolutions on government orders for materials and products, a list of goods and services with officially set prices, an income tax reduction for private individuals, and duties on imported goods. As part of the last item, duties on paper and printing equipment, agricultural machinery, fertilizers, and wheel chairs were reduced; however, duties for electronic goods, cosmetics, and automobile parts were raised. Duties on automobiles will be 20 percent of their price (but no less than \$500) plus 20 percent of the turnover tax. Beginning 1 January 1990, wholesale prices for hard coal will increase by 400 percent, for electricity by 300 percent, for gas by 250 percent; and retail prices for hard coal by 600 percent, electricity by 400 percent (the price of 1 Kwh has increased 106.5 zloty from 21.3 zloty), methane gas by 400 percent (the price of one m<sup>3</sup> will increase to 115 zloty from 23 zloty). Charges for central heating to 280 zloty from 56 zloty per m<sup>2</sup> of floor space, and hot water to 110 zloty from 22 zloty. Rates for shipping goods on the Polish State Railways and the State Motor Transport increased by an average of 200 percent, and passenger tickets increased by 250 percent, telecommunications, by 100 percent. Motor fuels also increased from 90 to 100 percent: ethylene 94 to 2,400 zloty from 1,200, ethylene 86 to 2,300 from 1,150 zloty, diesel fuel to 1,900 from 1,000 zloty. On 30 December 1989, the inaugural meeting of the Council of the National Endowment Fund was held at the Sejm building. Primate Jozef Glemp presided. The Council appealed to Poles to help their fatherland. The National Endowment Fund will collect money, bonds, and stock, convertible currency, and valuable objects. The Fund will support health programs and social welfare, environmental protection, education, and science and culture. The collection of gifts will continue through 11 November 1990. [passage omitted]

On 2 January 1990, the Polish Security Bank shifted to a monthly system for setting and crediting interest to deposits and loans. For January the rates were: for

three-year deposits, 38 percent; two-year deposits, 37 percent, one-year deposits, 36 percent; six-month deposits, 17 percent; three-month deposits, 10 percent; demand deposits, seven percent; cash loans, 40 percent, for newly weds, 36 percent, housing loans during construction and the grace period, 40 percent. The interest on loans for housing during the payment period is 115 percent. [passage omitted]

[No 2, 14 Jan p 2]

[Excerpts]

In Poland .

[passage omitted] In Warsaw on 4 January 1990, the Modern Liberalism Club was formed. Among the signatories of the program declaration are professors Adam Bromke, Antoni Kiklinski, Zdzislaw Sadowski, Michal Stalski, and Jan Szczepanski. The club does not intend to become a political party in the near future; it desires, however, to make society aware of the experience of modern liberalism. [passage omitted]

On 8 January 1990, prices of cigarettes increased: of domestic brands by an average of 136.3 percent; of imported ones by 71 percent. The price of a pack of Popularne is 800 zloty, Klubowe, 950 zloty; a soft pack of Wiarusow, 1,500 zloty; Caro with an acetate filter, 2,100 zloty. [passage omitted]

After the announcement of the introduction of the new road tax rates (for vehicles with engines up to 900 cm<sup>3</sup>, 18,500 zloty; from 901 to 1,300 cm<sup>3</sup>, 38,500 zloty; from 1,301 to 1,500 cm<sup>3</sup>, 49,500 zloty; from 1,501 to 1,800 cm<sup>3</sup>, 154,000 zloty; 1,801 cm<sup>3</sup> and above, 264,000 zloty) and of the increased insurance rates through the State Insurance Bureau (for the first quarter of 1990, respectively 50,000 zloty, 75,000 zloty, 110,000 zloty, and 165,000 zloty depending on the engine size), many owners decided to turn in their registrations temporarily. A guarded parking in Warsaw now costs 24,000 zloty a month; a place in a parking lot costs 500,000 zloty. The price of repair services in shops has increased in comparison to the end of 1989 by an average of 2.5 times, and in some even fivefold. [passage omitted]

Abroad

The 45th session of the CEMA was held in Sofia. Leaving for the deliberations, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that the CEMA should increasingly adapt itself to the conditions of a market economy and be open to contacts with other economic groups, for example, with the EEC.

A unnamed representative of the IMF said at a meeting with journalists in Washington that the officials of the Fund are considering assigning new funds to help Poland. The decisions were to be made during the second half of 1990 and cover \$2 to \$2.4 billion to be assigned over three years. He also announced rapid agreement on restructuring the Polish debt of some \$5 billion with the Club of Paris. [passage omitted]

During talks at the round table between representatives of the GDR government and opposition, Christa Luft, deputy premier and minister of the economy, reported that the debt of the GDR in convertible currency is \$20.6 billion, and its deposits in Western banks amount to \$7.9 billion. In 1989, GDR convertible-currency income was \$9.3 billion, and its expenditures, \$11.7 billion. Exports of goods and services produced 75 percent of the income. The deputy premier estimated the state budget deficit in 1989 was 5-6 billion marks. [passage omitted]

The Dresdner Bank of West Germany headquartered in Frankfurt has opened an office in Dresden, where it was founded in 1872. The second largest private bank in the FRG also intends to open offices in Berlin and Leipzig. The Dresdner Bank intends to participate in financing a joint venture between Robotron of the GDR and the Piltz firm of Bavaria. The two firms are planning to start production of compact discs at a cost of 235 million DM. Serving as an intermediary and financing this type of transaction is one of the Dresdner Bank's major types of operation in the GDR.

[No 3, 21 Jan p 2]

[Excerpts]

#### In Poland

[passage omitted] Beginning 15 January 1990, official retail prices for domestically produced alcoholic beverages were increased an average of 80 percent. For example a half liter of pure select vodka, 45 percent alcoholic content, now costs 31,400 zloty; 38 percent alcoholic content, 21,300 zloty.

On 13 January 1990, the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers examined, among other things, the plans for an Agricultural Market Agency. The agency would intervene in the agricultural and food markets, especially in the grain market, to stabilize them. In the opinion of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers, the agency should not duplicate the functions performed by the state reserve funds. The Committee also discussed whether it is to be an office, an economic organization, a partnership, a budget unit, or a foundation, as the Committee finally decided. [passage omitted]

On 8 January 1990, the Council of Ministers discussed, among other things, the problem of wages for employees of the health service, which in accord with previous decisions were to be 97 percent of the average wages in the material sphere. The government has not settled its obligations for the fourth quarter of 1989, and it owes this group of workers large sums. (How much exactly will be known after the Central Office of Statistics gives its report.) Due to the supplements, each employee of the health service is to receive 100,000 zloty in the near future, and full recompensation for back wages will be made in February. (These payments are not connected with the wage increases which go into effect beginning 1 January 1990.) [passage omitted]

On 15 January 1990, the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and the Polish Export Development Bank signed an agreement opening a line of credit that will allow Polish firms, except state ones, to borrow convertible currency. The IFC has earmarked 50 million DM for the line of credit and Polish firms have five years to use the funds.

It is estimated that demand for fuel fell 30 percent during the first 10 days of 1990 in comparison with the same period last year, and owners of private vehicles bought about 48 percent less fuel. State enterprises still have limits on purchases of fuel, but they are not being used. It is estimated that during the first 10 days of January 1990, 60 percent of the state enterprises did not purchase their allotment due to a lack of funds.

Attention readers! Constantly increasing costs associated with the entire publishing cycle have forced us again to raise the price of our weekly to 1,000 zloty per copy. We report this increase with great sorrow and count on your understanding and acceptance. The Editors.

#### Abroad

[passage omitted] Vaclav Havel, president of Czechoslovakia, visited Bratislava and declared, among other things, that the Polish-Czechoslovak confederation proposed by Zbigniew Brzezinski is primarily an issue for our peoples who will express themselves while taking into account the history of the many years of cooperation. "Although I respect Mr. Brzezinski for his activities and accomplishments," the president added, "I do not think that we must absolutely do what American advisors suggest."

According to a recently published United Nations report prepared by experts in research and analysis, 1990 will see slower economic growth, perhaps even a recession. The region with the highest rate of growth will continue to be Southeast Asia. According to the report, the revolutionary changes in Eastern Europe and the reforms in the Soviet Union will have serious consequences for the entire world, and the opportunity to end the debilitating arms race changes prospects.

In NEPSZABADSAG, Peter Aradi, deputy chairman of Hungarian radio, has drawn attention to the fact that a large portion of the mass media has gone into the hands of foreign capital. It is starting to play an increasing role in the formation and direction of the Hungarian press.

[No 4, 28 Jan p 2]

[Excerpts]

#### In Poland

[passage omitted] The debate over the method for paying teachers has ended. The average total wage in education will increase no less than 60 percent. A teacher will earn an average of about 606,000 zloty; other employees, 412,000 zloty. The lowest wage for a teacher with a higher education and professional qualifications (without supplements and overtime) is to be 357,000 zloty, and after 30 years of teaching 508,000 zloty. The final levels for this year will be

set during the legal regulation of wages in education after the budget is adopted. [passage omitted]

More than 500 directors of state enterprises, heads of Polonia firms and cooperatives met on 19 January 1990 at the Office of the Council of Ministers with the ministers and members of the Economics Committee of the Council of Ministers. The Confederation of Polish Employers organized the meeting.

On 20 January 1990, the Fourth Extraordinary Meeting of the Union of Rural Youth met. Jan Bury, head of the National Academic Council of the Union of Rural Youth, a member of the Polish Peasant Party "Rebirth," and a fifth-year student of law at the Rzeszow branch of the Marie-Curie University, was elected chairman.

As of 1 January 1990, the lowest wage is 120,000 zloty.

Polish apartments are among the most expensive in the world say experts of the World Bank, who visited Poland for several days. The market price amounts to roughly 22 years of average earnings, while the relation in developed countries is generally 1:3. (It is worse in China than in Poland; there the market price of an apartment to wages is 1:25.) [passage omitted]

On 18 January 1990, the General Assembly of the Polish Academy of Sciences elected Prof. Aleksander Gieysztor president of the Academy.

On 15 January 1990, the prices of refrigerators and automatic washers produced by Polar increased an average of 30-40 percent and of freezers, an average of 40-50 percent. For example, a Polar-135 refrigerator costs 1.543 million zloty in the firm's stores; a Luna automatic washer, 2.187 million zloty, a Diana compact washer, 2.75 million zloty; a Pingwin freezer, 2.133 million zloty. [passage omitted]

#### Abroad

[passage omitted] The French government has loaned Hungary Fr2 billion over three years for financing investment projects. This news was reported during French President F. Mitterrand's two-day visit to Hungary. Further, a fund of Fr50 million to support small and medium-sized firms will be formed. The Matra firm has signed a letter of intent to participate in the expansion of the Budapest subway. The value of the contract is Fr1 billion. [passage omitted]

#### Political Parties On Right: Focus on ZChN, RPP, KKL

90EP0359A Gdansk GWIAZDA MORZA in Polish  
No. 26-27, 31 Dec 89-07 Jan 90 p 7

[Article by Arkadiusz Rybicki: "New Parties on the Polish Scene"]

[Text] The above title is formulated in such a way as to allow some room for growth. There are not yet any genuinely new parties on the Polish political scene. There

are the old ones, namely, the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party], the ZSL [United Peasant Party] (while this article was being written, that party changed its name to PSL "Odrodzenie" [Polish Peasant Party "Rebirth"]), and the SD [Democratic Party]. They do not have much chance of surviving in their current form. They have to look for new programs, new action formulas, new support. It is still unknown what will come out of these changes, but it is certain that the changes must be introduced. The roundtable settlements, which prevented revolutions of the sort that we are currently observing in our neighboring countries, allotted significant participation in the parliament and the state's administration to the political forces of the "old order." But will the future, free elections repeat this arrangement?

The Citizens Parliamentary Club, which today is becoming the dominant political force in Poland, is not a party either, though it demands discipline from its members. Only now can parties be born within its framework, but it is unknown when this will take place. Indeed, there are crystallization points among the political currents, at the very least, among the peasant and Christian-national currents, but the requirement of unity creates great pressure on the possible leaders of new political orientations.

Thus, political life is developing dynamically outside the parliament. New political organizations, not restrained by anything, are rising up there. Some of them call themselves parties, while others are not in a hurry to do so. There are scores of these groups, but if one were to count those that have just a few or 10-20 members, these groups would number in the hundreds. There are, however, significantly larger groups with well developed programs and leadership cadres, that have more than just a regional scope, and which are most similar to political parties. This article is about three of these.

In October and November of this year, three important events took place.

On 28 November 1989, the Christian-National Union [ZChN] constituted itself in Warsaw. More than two hundred founding members elected an administration made up of: a chairman, Prof. Wieslaw Chrzanowski, an advisor of Solidarity in 1980-81 and one of the creators of its charter, and three deputy chairmen, Marek Jurek, a deputy to the Sejm whose origins lie in the Young Poland Movement, Jerzy Kropiwnicki of the Solidarity Working Group in Lodz, and Antoni Maciawicz, leader of the group "Voice."

The "Order and Freedom" Clubs, the "Freedom and Solidarity" Club, the National Rebirth of Poland, the "Voice" circles, a range of persons connected to NZS [Independent Association of Students], the academic organization "Young Poland" from Poznan, the periodical JESTEM POLAKIEM, as well as a few deputies to the Sejm entered into the composition of ZChN. The signatories to the act creating ZChN wrote in its program: "We are turning back to the centuries-old tradition



of Polish political thought that is grounded on the Christian culture of our nation. We are a new political formation, which draws from various currents of the past, uniting the experiences of political movements that have been meritorious in the struggles for independence: the independence, national, Christian-democratic, and Christian currents of the peasant and worker movement that reach to the achievement of conservative thought. Conscious of the challenges of the new epoch, we desire to give expression to the contemporary aspirations of Poles to independence and to the reconstruction of their social and governmental life on the basis of the principles of Catholic ethics."

The ZChN refers to the historical National Democrats, although it is—as its leaders emphasize—a group directed toward the future.

The second important event was the creation of the Movement for Polish Politics [RPP] on 4 November 1989 in Warsaw. In a communique issued after the meeting, we read that "those gathered here have created an initiatives group of the RPP which aims at building the bases for a future political party of wide center-right orientation." The plenipotentiaries of the initiatives group are Michal Chalonski, president of the Staropolska Industrial Society, and Tomasz Wolek, editor of *POLITYKA POLSKA*. Into the composition of the thirty-person founders group went representatives of a few industrial societies, citizens committees, parliamentary offices, "All-Poland Youth" from Poznan, the "Academic League" from Warsaw, and circles originating in the Young Poland Movement. The majority of the people and groups mentioned belonged to the "Dziękania" Club for Political Thought, which existed from 1984 to 1988, and was centered around Aleksander Hall, who was one of the deputy chairmen of the club. From the moment Tadeusz Mazowiecki was appointed to the government, these circles lost their eminent leader, who, working in the government of all Poles, had to stop presenting his own political sympathies.

In the outline of their ideological platform, those taking part in the RPP state: "The basis of our convictions is the fundamental system of Christian values. In a parallel fashion, we draw on the achievements of liberal, conservative, and national thought, perceiving the valuable elements for building a modern political program in each of these currents of tradition... At this point, the formation of civic society is above all a process of depoliticizing economic life and the enfranchisement of the citizens, for only the interdependence of political and economic freedoms creates full democracy. Our goal is the consistent building of a market economy based on private property. We see in this not only a source of economically productive solutions, but also the guarantee of individual freedom and the independence of various social associations."

The RPP does not want to be just one more small group on the right, but rather an essential element of a wider

conservative-liberal orientation that emphasizes its connections with the values of Christian ethics in social life.

The third event from recent weeks which changes the political map of the Polish right is the creation of the National Congress of Liberals [KKL] on 19 November 1989 in Gdansk. In their resolution, the congress's representatives wrote: "In Poland the process of fundamental organizational changes has begun. The current arrangement of political forces, which made possible the initiation of this process, did not create the social and political base for the realization of a new order based on a free-market economy and parliamentary democracy. There was a lack of strength capable of creating stability and continuity of these transformations. What is needed are a wide social movement and political organizations that look back to the liberal tradition with its basic values—the freedom and responsibility of the human being, property as the guarantee of freedom, tolerance, freedom of economic initiatives—as well as to the Christian moral-ethical order."

The KKL intends to create just such a movement, at the same time emphasizing that it desires to do this along with other groups, for example, the RPP.

The congress's declaration was signed by thirty people representing essential circles and political-economic forces. Among these people were the deputies Andrzej Zawislak, Andrzej Arendarski, Michal Chalonski and Krzysztof Bielecki, Senator Andrzej Machalski, and the economists Janusz Lewandowski and Jan Szomburg. Donald Tusk, chairman of the KKL in Gdansk, Jan Steckiewicz of the Krakow Industrial Society, and Andrzej Arendarski of Economic Action of Warsaw became the spokesmen of the movement.

The process of creating political parties in Poland is moving slowly from the elemental to the organized phase, proof of which were the facts mentioned above as well as the share of more and more serious subjects of political life in them. At a meeting dedicated to the law on political parties, which was organized by Minister Aleksander Hall on 28 November 1989, there were representatives of 16 parties and groups of various significance (the Democratic Center, the Confederation for an Independent Poland, KKL, the Citizens Parliamentary Club, the Polish Socialist Party, the Polish Catholic-Social Union, the Polish Peasant Party, the Polish Peasant Party "Rebirth," the Polish Peasant Party "Solidarity," the RPP, the "Pax" Association, the Democratic Party, the Labor Party, the Christian-Social Union and the Union for Real Politics; the PZPR ignored the meeting).

No matter how these groups emphasize their independence, coalitions and understandings will occur between them. This is a necessary process in so far as they want to obtain greater influence on the course of public affairs. An alliance of the KKL and the RPP is very likely in the near future. These groups come together a great deal, both in the method of formulating programs and in the



practice of their activities. Adherence to traditional values, such as, the family and local and national community, the grounding of the economy on private property, laws and a free market that are equal with respect to all who conduct economic activity, and opposition to socialist solutions, which prefer heavy industry and large factories, are threads common to both groups. Acceptance of the Christian system of ethical values is also common to the RPP and Polish liberals (in opposition to their Western counterparts). The tradition of cooperation between the "Young Poland" circle of Gdansk and the liberal circle is significant. Their mutual acceptance and sympathy allows for participation in common economic and political initiatives.

The dilemma facing this party or confederation of groups is the choice between populism—that is to say, the appeal to the popular, comprehensible slogans needed for gaining mass support—and the conquest of a less numerous group that will, however, accept a more difficult program of changes that is based on individual effort and ingenuity. The middle class and entrepreneurs or people in general who rely on their own effort above all, and to whom the civic and business sense of the KKL and RPP appeal, will make up for a long time yet the minority in society. This also limits in advance the electorate of the future party. On the other hand, the middle class, which is only now arising, will be made up of people who will have influence on the course of public affairs precisely because of their position. The next local and parliamentary elections will submit the influence of groups and political parties to real verification. Will the support of Solidarity prove to be the most important this time? What will be the relation of NSZZ ["Solidarity"] to the political orientation that demands the closing of large industrial installations which are Solidarity's base? What will this party be called? The RPP and the KKL will have to answer these questions in the very near future as well as a number of others.

## ROMANIA

### Minority Existence, Romanian Statutory Basis Discussed

90EC0238A Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian  
4 Jan 90 p 3

[Telephone interview with Andras Suto, a Hungarian minority activist in Romania, by Laszlo Ablonczy, place and date not given: "Minority Existence Does Not Tolerate Fragmentation"—first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Text] During those revolutionary hours on 22 December, when hundreds of people took him along, gently yet insistently, to the town's main square to make a speech, Andras Suto became ill. The sentences he spoke with revolutionary fervor also affected his voice. It was gratifying to hear over the telephone that his voice has cleared up since then. Even though his getting well would have required him to stay at home, he volunteered to

work as a loader so that the donations of the Hungarian Democratic Forum could be safely stored as soon as possible. A new start? Can the national minority's collective hopes of more than four decades ago continue with real historical prospects of success? In recent years, from Eszek [Osijek, Yugoslavia] at the site of the Great Battlefield Defeat [Battle of Mursa, 351 AD], Andras Suto has described repeatedly in anguished essays the humiliations endured by his people. At one time the national minority's rights were formulated in a statute. That important document has not been rescinded to date. The dictatorship, nevertheless, kept violating the Hungarians' dignity day after day, through countless measures.

[NEPSZAVA] This raises the following question: To what extent can the future of the ethnic Hungarians in Romania be based on the one-time minority statute?

[Suto] The statute could play a very important role in the future. There is a version of the statute that poor Janos Demeter prepared on the basis of the 1945 draft, by amending and updating the latter. Then, of course, he did not hope for any radical change. We will now take the text of that old statute and attempt to adapt it to our present possibilities.

[NEPSZAVA] Does this historical change reflect adequate support in terms of numbers and intellectual force?

[Suto] Seventy years of minority existence have fairly crippled the ethnic Hungarians living here. I think we need a radical change in the qualitative sense, an emotional and moral renewal. Under real democracy, if it does come after seven decades of despotism (for we are not speaking merely of the past two decades), generations of the minority might emerge, to whom the deplorable necessity of compromise and appeasement would be unfamiliar. Generations of Transylvanian Hungarians, their heads erect, will no doubt appear in my dreams. You ask, Why only in my dreams? Allow me to amend that. The vanguard of those generations is already here. And then there are the wooden gravemarkers of those who have already returned to dust. The legacy of the predecessors, of the Aron Tamasi, Karoly Koses, the Szabedis and Sandor Kacsos. I could go on and on, listing those intellectuals who were active in public affairs, and who lived and worked in this region not only with their writings, but with a sense of mission in their human behavior. From this sad graveyard parade, allow me to mention the last in line: Gyorgy Bozodi. As his friends and countrymen, we were unable to be present at his recent interment in Farkasret Cemetery. But now, in a cleared atmosphere, we hope to be able to fully appraise his life's work.

[NEPSZAVA] You mentioned Aron Tamasi. How relevant is his life's work now when the fortunes of the ethnic Hungarians in Romania are suddenly changing?

[Suto] Every word, every letter he wrote is a balm and a fountain of youth for our existence. I hope that in

making his work available to the public we will be able to cooperate with those who even now do not fully appreciate Aron Tamasi.

[NEPSZAVA] Last August, after 30 years of service, you applied for retirement. The biweekly UJ SZO will probably also get a face lift.

[Suto] The change is also encouraging in this sense. It will be comprehensive and promising. We would like to transform UJ ELET into a minority review. Thank God, we have been freed of the requirement to reflect the economic miracles of Ceausescu's golden age. One might ask why we reflected them. Because otherwise the paper would have been shut down immediately. It would have been better if it had been shut down, others might say or have said. They would be wrong or have been wrong. Because this way we were still able to smuggle into the paper something of the minority's existence, of Hungarian culture and our traditions. It was an existence in which one had to compromise. Obviously, anyone who rejected compromise would have had to look around for arms. We had no weapon other than words. And the future will have to judge whether we have used that weapon well.

[NEPSZAVA] You mentioned arms. Allow me to refer to Nagelschmidt, the implacable armed hero in your play "A Horse Trader's Palm Sunday." He is relentless in his search for Munzer, and time has proved him right. But this play was banned quite recently.

[Suto] Let me tell you briefly this much about the ban. Evidently, Elena Ceausescu was the chief supervisor, a virtual police inspector of cultural matters. She spared only two of my plays: "The Merry Mourner," because she found it anticlerical; and "A Horse Trader's Palm Sunday," because she thought that it was about horse breeding. Well, Levente Kovacs began production of the latter play in Szatmar [Satu-Mare]. Then Hungarian Radio broadcast my essay on minority policy, read by Imre Sinkovits. That sealed "Horse Trader's" fate. And it nearly sealed my own as well. On several occasions the Interior Ministry official on duty in the assassination department threatened me and my entire family with death. But then the revolution intervened. Before the scheduled premier, the theater in Szatmar received orders from Bucharest not to stage the play. In other words, the play was banned. Levente Kovacs recently resumed work on producing the play, and we will hold its premier in Szatmar, in February of this year.

[NEPSZAVA] Your biblical play "Cain and Abel" appears to have shed light on the new and anguishing relevance of fratricide.

[Suto] "We could have been each other's ladder rungs," declares Cain over Abel's corpse. All I can say in response to your question is that minority existence does not tolerate fragmentation, the teeming of groups arguing with one another, their self-consuming and strength-sapping competition. Minority existence demands popular unity and a diversity of ideas and

opinions, in the spirit of real pluralism. No one here is thinking of dressing the people in ideological and intellectual uniforms, but we do need unity and cooperation to realize our aspirations. Allow me to refer once again to the sentence I just quoted from the play: We need to become each other's ladder rungs.

[NEPSZAVA] I think that the moral of the biblical play can also be interpreted to apply to the interdependence of the peoples, the Romanians and Hungarians. The first official promising signs, in the wake of Gyula Horn's Bucharest visit, are already evident: the reopening of the Debrecen and Kolozsvár [Cluj] consulates, the opportunities for cultural cooperation....

[Suto] We were overjoyed, pleased, and hopeful upon hearing these news items. However, hard work and even a series of intellectual skirmishes must follow this hopefulness, because otherwise all our aspirations will remain merely wishful thinking.

[NEPSZAVA] Miklos Nemeth, our prime minister, welcomed the Romanian revolution in the spirit of Peter Groza's Europeanism and integrity. Dare we trust that the new leadership truly wants to establish fraternal ties between our peoples, in the spirit of Europeanism?

[Suto] I am very pleased that Peter Groza's name has surfaced. That name is going to evoke a much greater response than ever before. I personally know many of those who now have taken lead of the events, and I can say that they are men of European mentality.

[NEPSZAVA] Tens of thousands have left their native land in recent years. Speaking on behalf of those who stayed behind, do you think that those who left would again find a home if they returned?

[Suto] Just as I was not and could not be intolerant of emigrating, I am unable to say anything categorically about returning home. If anything, this truly is a question of each individual's intentions and decision. In my opinion, there are no grounds for reproaching or condemning anyone, because every person's actions were dictated by necessity. Here I do not include those who left under no compulsion whatever, because there are few such people. I do not brand as a coward the person who left, just as I am unable to proclaim as a hero and a brave man the person who stayed. Everyone acted in accordance with his own situation and necessity, and followed the dictates of his own conscience. Mainly the family circumstances had to be taken into consideration: the children, and their opportunity to study. And our main worry at present is not the past but the future!

[NEPSZAVA] When viewing your worries, you probably are professing a new Vasarhely [Tirgu Mures] creed....

[Suto] New opportunities have arisen. We have to start practically everything from scratch. We have as yet few of the men we need, but their number will be increasing with each day. Determined and very talented young people are emerging from nowhere. We only need a

catalyst to rally the determined forces and make proper use of them. The revolution has swept away the local Hungarian traitors to our cause. The minority's new mass organization, the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania, is now being formed in the entire country. Geza Domokos is its provisional chairman. Besides what by now is the association's national apparatus, local branches are also being organized in the towns and villages.

Our dream is a strong political organization that unites every ethnic Hungarian in Romania: a political mass organization that eventually will be able to run in the parliamentary elections. The start, of course, is not easy. It is difficult to strengthen mutual trust between Romanians and Hungarians. The Ceausescu regime's malicious propaganda and the neofascist fanaticism have poisoned the minds of the Romanian people. Likewise horrible are the main aftereffects of the ethnic Hungarians' persecution: the fear and uncertainty absorbed in their marrow. It will take both groups a long time to recover emotionally and intellectually.

[NEPSZAVA] You do not intend to give up serving the public even now that you have turned gray?

[Suto] Transylvanian writers have always had not only a profession, but also public duties. I think I put in enough sleepless hours to have discharged my duties to the public. Once things settle down and a host of men begin to be active in public affairs, I would like to devote my time to my profession, i.e., to being a writer. There are so many things I would still like to write about, and I no longer can afford to waste my time. Most of the precious time I have been allotted has already flown by. What is still left of it I would like to devote to my writing.

## YUGOSLAVIA

### Reports on Founding of New Parties in Croatia

#### Social Democratic Party

90EB0195A Zagreb VJESNIK (PANORAMA SUBOTOM Supplement) in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jan 90 pp 4-5

[Article by Branko Podgornik: "The Bloom of Croatian Optimism"]

[Text] The Social Democratic Party of Croatia was formed on the eve of the new year in Zagreb, making the 12th of the 16 members that now comprise the variegated Croatian political family. As one of the signers of the now notorious petition demanding free elections from republic authorities, it certainly arouses interest, since this is one of the very rare ones in the range of the new alternative political groups which can unambiguously be put on the left, more accurately, on the "left center."

The establishment of the party occurred in the Museum for Art and Commerce; ceremonies were modest, but ambitions are great. A movement which has been developing for more than 100 years under the sign of the red rose, the symbol of Social Democracy, represents—the organizers recalled—"a factor for stability" of the welfare states in Western Europe, in our collective Jerusalem. Slowly but surely displacing the Communists over the decades with their contagious ideas of a peaceful road to socialism and of coexistence, but without emphasizing the conflict between labor and capital, [Social Democrats] are perceived as a serious competitor that will give headaches to our Communists and others in the fight for votes—assuming, of course, that the winds continue to blow as they have in recent weeks.

"Comrades ladies and gentlemen," were the first words of Antun Vujic, the current president of the Social Democratic Party of Croatia (SDSH), as he addressed the small initiating assembly of Social Democrats in the Society of Croatian Writers nearly a month ago, probably not knowing how to address the future followers of the party. "For now, let us use both," Vujic added as he made the first sounding of the terrain for the new party. That is, he does recall that "this party did nevertheless originate with the workers," but that the Communists have to some extent compromised this usual form of address on the left.

#### Who Are the Initiators

It is said that the initiators and first followers of the Social Democratic Party of Croatia are mostly former Communists and their sympathizers, as well as the children of war veterans, and are profoundly disillusioned with current political practice. There is no doubt that this is largely true, judging by the party's name, although this is not the entire truth. These are mainly the young generation of trained and educated people, a few workers, and the founding meeting was attended by Profs Zvonimir Baletic and Zvonko Lerotic, the writer Milan Miric, Stjepan Ivanisevic, Mladen Ramljak, the lawyer Zeljko Olujic, and certain other well-known names. For the present, the Social Democrats cannot boast of a large membership, but it seems that they do not even want to "inflate" the membership like certain other political alliances. "The application forms are on the piano," Vujic said to his audience, pointing toward a corner of the room in the Society of Croatian Writers at the first meeting. The fact that so far the party has brought together about 200 members confirms that the sympathizers did not exactly scramble for the application forms. Nevertheless, we have heard that a few days before the new year, the first chapter of the SDSH has been established in Velika Gorica, and in January small groups of the SDSH are expected to form in Pula, Rijeka, and Split.

It is true that the Social Democrats do not have a strong tradition in our country, but this does not detract from Vujic's expectations. The times are changing, and following the logic of tradition, Vujic feels, we should



anticipate, say, that a newly established Croatian Peasant Party would now be one of the decisive competitors solely because that is what it was before the war. He recalls that the prewar scene in Croatia was burdened by the unresolved ethnic issue to the extent that the Croatian Peasant Party was logically one of the strongest political groupings. But as soon as the tension of that issue was moderated by the Cvetkovic-Macek agreement in 1939, the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS) began to undergo a strong political differentiation.

Incidentally, as far as the nationalities question is concerned, the Social Democrats are probably among the last on the alternative political scene who can be accused of political illiteracy. In 1905, they were the first political movement in the world to remove the taboo from resolving the nationalities question when they formulated the right of peoples to self-determination all the way to secession. In Vujic's words, the SDSH is faithful to that tradition and considers discussion of unrestricted rights of the nationality to have been morally and legally ended, just as today international forums consider those rights inextinguishable. However, the Social Democrats of Croatia do not consider the nationality question to be the issue that overrides all others. It exists only where there is no consistent answer to the fundamental question—the question of human and civil rights and freedoms.

#### Never Enough Federalism

In advocating a multiparty, parliamentary, and democratic Croatia in the same Yugoslavia in which the sovereignty of Croatia and of all the Yugoslav states and nationalities is guaranteed, the Social Democratic Party of Croatia is one of the rare opposition groups which does not avoid speaking openly about the Serbs in Croatia, which is one of the groups it is counting on. An indicator of that is the very name of the party and the place where the adjective "Croatian" is placed. Even in the first meeting of the Society of Croatian Writers there was a proposal to move that adjective from first place to last place, since, as one of the speakers in the discussion said, "We want to establish a party which will offer an alternative to the ruling party, but with which we will not at the same time be reproaching our Serbian neighbors. This party must not divide the workers along ethnic lines."

This position of the Social Democrats logically fits into their slogan: "Never Enough Federalism!" Federalism, however, is not only governmental, intergovernmental, and federal, but it is also intragovernmental. It is social, Antun Vujic emphasizes, and it embraces the way in which societal entities are themselves organized: political parties, trade unions, and ethnic and social institutions. Whereas parties are an expression of political pluralism, the federal organization of a society is an expression of social pluralism. Only both pluralisms offer a solution for Yugoslavia's democratic perspective, and Social Democracy has something to say about them, since they represent the root of its political success in Western democracy, Vujic emphasizes.

Nor do the Social Democrats of Croatia hide the fact that they wish to establish ties with the Socialist International, with our workers in Western Europe, and with social-democratically minded people in other republics of Yugoslavia. So far, they have contacted the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia, since for the time being, there are no others. This does not discourage them, since they consider their political options suitable and promising for the political scenes of the other republics, for all those who are brought together by a desire for modern European standards of living in this country. One of the main points of support in their effort should be trade unions independent of the state.

It is interesting that in its programmatic orientation, the Social Democratic Party of Croatia not only distances itself from the one-party monopoly of the Communists and their political practice, but also warns of the danger of the "retrograde right" at the opposite political pole, which has "nationalistic politicization" as its refuge. The right, in the opinion of the Social Democrats, is also made up of conservative Communists, so that democracy is threatened from two sides, each alternative just as dangerous as the other, in their opinion. However, the SDSH feels that both of the extreme options should have the right to political association and legalization.

Many people are now waiting with interest to see whether any other left-wing party will form on Croatia's alternative political scene, a party somewhere in between the Social Democrats and the Communists, since the prestige and growth of the left, in the opinion of SDSH members, depends to a large degree on the behavior of the Communists in power and on the fate of democratic reforms which they themselves have initiated. "The League of Communists itself, which has finally come out openly for a multiparty system, is an incomparably smaller problem for democracy than its official structure, which carries a historical burden and which, as shown in the attitudes concerning elections and political associations, has in recent days decided to stubbornly defend its conservative positions. I am afraid that we will be seeing many manipulations by individuals who want to stick to their truly retrograde positions," Vujic says.

Manipulations with the relations between Serbs and Croats are emerging again, according to Vujic, and supposedly "Croatia cannot become democratic, since it is not monoethnic like Slovenia." This is the most commonplace maliciousness, an insult to both Croats and Serbs, Vujic continues, "since according to that argument Serbs are enemies of democracy, and there is nothing left for the Croats but to renounce democracy on that basis. These arguments make it quite clear who is misusing interethnic relations today, when we need to move forward."

[Box, p 5]

#### The Crucial Overcoat

The destiny of the leader of the SDSH, Dr Antun Vujic (44), partly fits into the story about former Communists

and their sympathizers who after disillusionment have moved over to some other "camp." And Vujic, like many other leading people of the alternative political alliances in Croatia, emerged from the multicolored political coat referred to as—1971. He was the editor of OMLADINSKI TJEDNIK, the newspaper of the Zagreb Youth Organization, which distinguished itself with its vanguard appearance, for which all youth newspapers today might well envy it, but—as Vujic himself says—also for its left-wing democratic ideas. He did not belong to what was called the "counterrevolutionary committee of 50," he was neither interrogated nor punished, but neither did he escape political labels, which was the case of thousands of other political figures at that time. He took his doctor's degree in philosophy and today works in the Yugoslav Institute for Lexicography. "Our party is also undertaking a reassessment of the events in 1971," Vujic says, "but we are not obsessed with this, since we look first to the present and future."

#### Alliance of Greens of Croatia

90EB0195B Zagreb VJESNIK (PANORAMA SUBOTOM supplement) in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jan 90 pp 4-5

[Article by Stjepo Martinovic: "The Greens Have Also Sprung Up?"]

[Text] Although mentioned since last spring in every ambitious survey of alternative initiatives in Croatia, the Greens have not called much attention to themselves—at least not at the republic level (whereas the Green (Celena) action in Split, for example, was exceedingly vocal)—until the "statement for the public" launched from the meeting of the Environmental Coordinating Committee on 15 December. It should be said at once that this is neither a sign of slow growth of Green initiatives into an organized and social and political entity, and still less an oversight of the environmentalists in their communication with the public to emphasize their commitments and intentions; the "secret" is that the Greens, as the only "party" in our country not being created by some "brain trust" that is spreading its ideas and seeking followers in the political space, sprang up "from below"—by an accumulation of local initiatives, individual citizens, and environmental organizations from Slavonia to Dalmatia and from Zagreb to Rijeka, which also imposes its altogether special "technology of homogenization."

That is, to bring all the Greens together at one time—given their great diversity, around some optimum common ground and to leave all (individual and collective) members of the future Alliance of Greens of Croatia enough freedom to formulate their own programmatic orientations, scenario for action and politicization of their effort in the social environment, the documents on which the working group of the committee we have mentioned tested its skill in defining the Green paradigm could not be arrived at overnight. What is more, "every period and comma" had to be worked out in constant

contact with the Greens "in the field"—again from Split to Osijek...in spite of all the proverbial "communications static" when it comes to our propensity for arriving at speedy agreements!

Thus, only now that this job has been brought to a point at the level of a final version of the draft that will be offered for adoption to the founding assembly of the Greens on 3 March 1990 that one can speak without qualification about the fundamental documents of a still young plant in the Croatian sociopolitical landscape: the Alliance of Greens of Croatia.

#### Nevertheless—Independently

An organization which claims to be an umbrella for most if not all of those who in the republic intend to decorate themselves with green or other colors in the rainbow of the "fundamental environmentalists," after a (brief!) flirtation with sponsorship of the Socialist Alliance, is nevertheless emerging as an "independent organization bringing together citizens, associations, professional, and political organizations interested in preserving the quality and improving the condition of the natural environment, natural sources and the cultural legacy, as well as in creating a social and political climate which makes it possible to build commitments concerning an ecologically tenable development, exercise of the human right to a healthy environment and affirmation of awareness of the responsibility of present generations for the ecological safety of future generations."

So, in the very first paragraph of its "Programmatic Statement" the Greens unambiguously point to the grounding of their orientation in man's right to a healthy environment—which arises out of the right to quality of life—and, emphasizing that they are equally interested in affirming and exercising that right "here and now" and the "ecological safety of future generations," they draw an essential line of demarcation between themselves and protagonists of all other current ideological matrices on the so-called alternative scene. The other alliances, movements, and parties—both newcomers and those in shelter of power—know no other interest except the battle for power in order to distribute goods in keeping with their appetites and the options in daily politics. It may sound odious to put it flatly like that, but every political group which before the appearance of the Greens had been assaulting power in order to take it and "exercise it" has done so for tangible gain: redistribution of national goods and influence on the technology of their use in the best interest of themselves, only thereafter leaving something for those who helped them to get into power. Opponents—historical experience indicates this rather convincingly—are left little or nothing....

The fruit of that "ideology" is the merciless assault on natural sources, the ecologically untenable development which has resulted in such a dramatic discrepancy between the abundance of natural sources and the ways in which they are exploited (as a consequence of the dominant pattern of thought) that man "for the first time

in history has threatened his own survival in the only habitat he has in the universe." It sounds catastrophical—but that is how it is: the hole in the ozone layer, the "greenhouse effect," acid rain, global warming and desertification, the melting of the polar caps, and the rise in the level of the world's oceans....

### No Progress Without Politics!

The answer to that situation, in our country as in the rest of the world, can only be a "spreading awareness of the certainty of the breakdown of the global ecosystem and of the consequences of the processes initiated for the safety and quality of life of present and future generations, as well as the influence of ecologically aware citizens and their organizations on decisionmaking concerning the economic use of natural resources and other environmental aspects." By "other" resources, the Greens have a great deal in mind: cultural and historical monuments and the urban environment, the rural legacy and spiritual art, the social environment, cultural and other features of the identity of the free citizen....

Since that influence on decisionmaking cannot be achieved except by being critical of the decisionmakers, that is, of the government, the Greens simply cannot take even a step without moving into politics. However, that is one of the very important lines of demarcation between the Green "fundamentalists" and "realists": whereas some believe that "concern with the environment" means no more than operating locally in a way which the other side (not without irony) has christened "aid to the indisposed personnel of the municipal services," those who are more radical feel that there is no influence without squaring off in politics in a democratic (parliamentary) arena. The Greens have suffered through similar dilemmas wherever they have appeared so far—from West Germany and Britain to Italy and Bulgaria—and it cannot be said that all the truth is one sided. The local ("municipal") initiative is a sound test of the sincerity of the Green commitment and a training area for the "Green guerrilla," while a political drive aimed at the decisionmakers is the only "technology" for achieving influence at a higher (economic, cultural, social...) level.

The Alliance of Greens of Croatia has expressed that point of view with a very balanced formulation: "In order to protect and improve the state of all factors in the quality of life, the Greens will cooperate with citizens and organizations from the local to the international level. While taking a critical stance toward decisionmakers, the Greens will not at the same time evade assumption of responsibility for ecologically relevant decisionmaking and for taking part in its conception and implementation." That is, cooperation—

criticism—assumption of responsibility (participation): it is a method, one might say, without a break in the chain!

Finally, a word or two about the "public statement." It is a program rewritten as an appeal: grounded upon the reasons for the "Green protest" (among which mention is made of the tragic powerlessness of the system to prevent the assault on the common wealth in spite of 438 laws and the "investment totalitarianism of enterprises and individuals," by way of the "humiliation by our own standard of humanity and before the international democratic public because of the drastic reduction of the economic, social, cultural, and psychological conditions for a 'Copernican turnabout' on behalf of ecologically tenable development...and (because of) the arbitrary limitation of the rights of citizens to democratic expression concerning their ecological interest and the manner in which it is to be pursued," the participants in the programmatic meeting left no room for doubt as to what they are demanding.

The Greens express deep dissatisfaction with the condition of the environment in our country, with the belittlement of the citizen's natural right to quality of life, and with restriction of democratic influence on the economic use of natural resources and the material and cultural legacy. (If it seems to you that there are no grounds, just remember for whom it goes "against the grain" and who has an interest in building the "grandiose" projects like the Korcula Marina or the Hotel Belvedere in Dubrovnik!)

The Greens are demanding establishment of a "ministry for the environment," a committee in the parliament for the same purpose, and an independent agency that would figure as a scientific-professional service for the economy, the administration and other users (read "the public"). By calling the attention of citizens to the reasons requiring ecological reasonable behavior and calling upon them to "realize that they are responsible and to accept their responsibility" for building a society that has made peace with the advances of civilization and its own environment, they express support for those factors that indicate a change of direction toward frontiers that have been confirmed by civilization: the law-governed state, civilian society, human rights and freedoms, deideologization and demilitarization of society, and dismantling of all barriers to the free flow of people, goods, and ideas.

Since the assembly of Greens was held in a time of stormy discussions of the future elections, they could not omit to respond to that challenge: free elections YES!—but after a round-table discussion of all political entities (registered and unregistered!) in order to prepare for them properly.



## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### **Future of Slovak Agricultural Cooperatives Examined** *90EC0316A Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak* *9 Feb 90 pp 1, 2*

[Interview with the SSR (Slovak Socialist Republic) Deputy Minister of Agriculture Ladislav Klinko by Milan Debnar; place and date not given: "Use Good Common Sense—Farmers' Common Sense"—first two paragraphs ROLNICKE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] Until recently, we were comfortably listening to words of praise for our agriculture. We had show enterprises, show results... However, today other voices are also being heard which insist that things are not so ideal, rather that the last few years have caused us more worries than rejoicing. It is not by chance, therefore, that there is much more talk now about breaking up the unified agricultural cooperatives (UAC), about reprivatization, private farming....

To learn how an economist views the future as well as the past of our agriculture, we talked with Doc. Eng. Ladislav Klinko, CSc [expansion not given], the "fresh" SSR Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Food, until recently an independent scientist at the Forecasting Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, who has devoted practically his whole life to agricultural policy and economy.

[ROLNICKE NOVINY] Many workers in the agrocomplex are asking, in connection with individual farming which you, too, were promoting in 1968, if agriculture here is expected to look as it does, for instance, in Poland.

[Klinko] The situation here is entirely different from that of our neighbor to the north. While in Poland the private and individual sector has survived since time immemorial, here it practically does not exist any more. There are no private farmers here. I mean those who farm several tens or hundreds of hectares. True, in Slovakia we do have 3,242 so-called individual farmers who work more than two hectares of land. But all together they farm on 14,000 hectares of agricultural land, of which 5,557 is arable, and that in comparison with the 2,500,000 hectares of agricultural land in Slovakia is really only a negligible "drop in the ocean". In 1968, when socialization had not yet been completed here, there were 119,000 farmers in the private sector, fully engaged in agriculture. Today, therefore, we find ourselves in a totally original situation when we talk about the need for the private sector in agriculture, but a sector as such does not exist any more—or not yet. That is why we cannot compare ourselves to Poland or take it or not as an example. We are on an entirely different plateau.

[ROLNICKE NOVINY] Since we do not have a private sector, we cannot even talk about reprivatization or

about returning land. Is some other way of returning private farmers to the land under consideration?

[Klinko] In Slovakia, we have approximately 700 gigantic enterprises which have approximately 2,500 hectares of land each. That is the result of the megalomania that followed after 1971; today it is clear to us that given the existing energy capacities and ecological problems, such a state of affairs cannot be maintained. I am not against cooperatives. But I do not approve of colossi in which anonymity, indifference, and alienation reign. Smaller cooperatives, with a capacity for action, will have to be created. They should work on the basis of leases and cooperative agreements. It may be possible, in such a case, that within the framework of the existing UACs, where large capital goods capacities have accumulated, the individual centers will act as independent cooperatives within a cooperative, trade among themselves, and the original cooperative will fulfill the role of the former "agricultural cooperatives." That will prevent the averaging of results and showing of fulfilled totals of any kind. We shall thus succeed in providing individuals with incentives, and the relationship of people to the soil will return, let us hope, soon.

In mountain regions, such as Crava, Kysuce, and Liptov, where today many UACs exist thanks only to state subsidies, the process should follow the road of individual leasing of the means of production including land, and building of family farms. I think that under the conditions of a market economy, this is the only viable way. In doing that, we cannot talk about reprivatization, but about privatization on the basis of leases. But at the same time we must emphasize that this cannot be done from day to day, it must be done in stages so that we would not disrupt food supplies to the market by this intervention.

[ROLNICKE NOVINY] So that on one hand you approve of cooperatives—but only on a small scale, on the other hand you are proposing to gradually liquidate them in their present form. You probably do not consider cooperatives in our Czechoslovak style to be the best solution from the point of view of historical development. But?

[Klinko] Various economic analyses show that it is something of a "blind developmental alley". By saying this I do not wish to insult anyone, the stalwart work of the people in the cooperatives, but many prognosticians have realized a long time ago that we are heading for a collapse. However, we cannot simply ignore what happened during the past 40 years and start from zero. What was built here, we must accept as fact.

When I follow the development of our cooperatives and the economy of the state, then it seems to me that the UACs had a progressive character until about the middle of the seventies. Then the world was plunged into an energy crisis which caused a reversal in prices. However, our system somehow did not take that into consideration. We pretended that it did not affect us, that we

would overcome it, and let the capitalists resolve it among themselves. We remained energy intensive and that is when our decline began. It is true that we became self-sufficient in food production, but we must admit at what price. Almost nowhere in our huge farms did we achieve the productivity as originally planned, and in terms of productivity per farm worker we are actually in 14th place within the European framework. We managed to get there from the 12th place in the span of only 10 years. When the so-called grain units per agricultural worker are used to measure labor productivity, then we find that while Belgium and Luxemburg achieve 261,000 of these units, we achieve only 33,951. Behind us is only Spain with 15,000 units and then all the socialist countries. However, those are numbers. Some may object that they were slanted. The fact however remains that at present we find ourselves in conflict with nature, or, with the natural background—we are in conflict with the basic factor. Therefore we cannot continue in this direction. However, there is no point now in trying to “find the culprits” at all costs, we must come to our senses as soon as possible. There must be a basic turnaround in the direction of the economy and the concern for ecology. Basically, we must lighten our production. In practice, for example, we shall not be able to afford even such an anomaly as are the enterprises with a territorial boundary 26 kilometers long, which have on one end mixers of solid fodder and on the other end farms with farm animals.... In addition, there must evolve a complete profession of being a farmer. Something of an agricultural “polyhistorian”.

[ROLNICKE NOVINY] Today, when there is so much argument made in favor of private entrepreneurship, there is also the question of the adjunct productions of the unified agricultural cooperatives. How do you envisage their future?

[Klinko] The adjunct productions were the children of its time—and they became a stabilizing factor of the economy of many a cooperative. I think that this could soon come to an end. Today the existing productions will turn independent, because it will not be to the advantage of the people working in them to remain under the heading of the UACs. Not even mentioning the strong competition which will come from privately working tradesmen and local industries.

[ROLNICKE NOVINY] This no doubt puts fear into the heart of many a UAC chairman. Is it now indeed possible that farmers would live only off the land?

[Klinko] In previous years it was really not possible, but in the future farmers will indeed be able to make their living only from their agricultural production—as is true elsewhere in the world. I do not insist that agriculture will not be subsidized by the state. It certainly will be, after all, that is the way it is also in the developed countries, but not as generously as today. Therefore we come back again to the inevitability of privatization—especially in places where soil is less fertile, where the private sector can utilize it more easily.

[ROLNICKE NOVINY] But to whom should the land be leased? To those members of the UACs who put their land into the cooperative, or to anyone who shows interest in the land?

[Klinko] That should be determined in membership meetings of those individual cooperatives where it already comes under consideration.

Land, you know, is a very complicated matter here. It is formally registered as nontransferable in the records of the geodesy offices, if it is in private ownership. But this ownership cannot be realized economically, because the user is the UAC alone. And so the owner of the land comes into formal contact with it only during inheritance proceedings, when he assigns it to himself and of course pays a fee for it. No wonder that many prefer to give up the land, and so after a few years we would find that the owners are mostly no longer among the living.... By saying this I want to point out that there is much confusion in this area, and so in the future it would be best if all land became national property rather than be in private ownership. The individual natural resources fund should buy it from the private owners and then lease it under certain conditions, for example, for a period of 30 to 40 years.

## HUNGARY

### Aluminum Agreement With Soviets To Be Extended

#### Only Mutually Beneficial Agreement

25000612B Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian  
18 Jan 90 p 5

[Article by Erzsebet Eller: “The Hungarian-Soviet Aluminum Oxide-Aluminium Industry Agreement: The Same Way Next Year?”]

[Text] The extended Hungarian-Soviet aluminum oxide-aluminum industry agreement expires this year. Renewing the agreement is in the interest of both parties, only the form may change....

It is not easy to cite an example of a specific cooperative endeavor within CEMA that has been successful, nevertheless there is such a thing. That one successful venture is the Hungarian-Soviet aluminum oxide-aluminum industry agreement. It is a fact of economic history that the Hungarian economy saved billions of forints in 1962 when the agreement was signed, and beginning in 1967 when deliveries began. How did these savings occur? The aluminum production development which took place at that time was realized out of 9 billion forints rather than 24 billion forints, because we did not have to develop significant energy producing capacities needed for the smelting of aluminum oxide. After all, the essence of the agreement is that we deliver aluminum oxide to the Soviet Union for processing into aluminum in lieu of wage payments. In turn, we paid wages in the form of

delivering light industry and food industry products, or, at our option, some machine industry products. Initially, all the metal derived from the exported aluminum oxide was returned to Hungary. Hungarian industry used that aluminum for the manufacture of semi-finished or finished aluminum products. Nevertheless, the Soviet partners formulated the structure of the agreement in such a way that they could retain as much as possible of the aluminum. (In regard to this line of thought, we should take note of the fact that Hungarian Aluminum Trust [MAT] specialists object to the use of the term "hired labor." They claim that the agreement calls for mutually offsetting, mutual deliveries.)

**Quantities Delivered in the Framework of the Agreement  
(in thousands of tons)**

	Aluminum Oxide	Aluminum
1968	60	30
1970	120	60
1975	240	120
1980	330	165
1987	530	205
1990	530	205
Annual plan 1991-95	530	205

Domestic aluminum production amounts to 75,000 tons. Accordingly, the volume of available aluminum, including the Soviet deliveries, is 280,000 tons per year. Of this volume, between 150,000 and 160,000 tons are used in Hungary, and about 100,000 tons are exported and are payable for in convertible currencies. The remaining volume of between 20,000 and 30,000 tons is sold to CEMA countries.

A brief history of the agreement: It was signed in 1962 and expired in 1980. It was extended at that time without changing the conditions. The agreement specified the delivery of 330,000 tons of aluminum oxide in exchange for 165,000 tons of metal during the initial years. In 1983 the agreement was changed so that, beginning in 1986 and ending in 1990, the Hungarian aluminum industry would deliver 530,000 tons of aluminum oxide and 5,000 tons of high value semi-finished products, as well as food industry, light industry, and machine industry products from other branches of industry, in exchange for the 205,000 tons of aluminum delivered by the Soviet Union.

Both the Hungarian and the Soviet governments are determined to once again renew the agreement. Although conciliatory negotiations have not been completed, it is a virtual certainty that it will be possible to reach an agreement for another five-year term. (The Hungarians would have liked to reach an agreement for a longer term.) Similarly, it is likely that volumes specified in the agreement will not be changed either. On the other hand, what may be subject to change is the fact that it is expected that beginning in 1991 it will be within the authority of MAT on the Hungarian side to determine under what conditions it is worthwhile to maintain the agreement. (See the interview with the MAT deputy president below.)

Accordingly, the agreement is important, but just how economical it is—e.g. from the budgetary standpoint—would be hard to document prior to 1990. The products exported under the agreement are subject to a "financial bridging arrangement,"—in simple terms: a budgetary subsidy which adjusts the forint-ruble exchange rate—not unlike that for any other exported product destined for the Soviet Union, and the surplus generated by imports is withdrawn by the state in the same way as it is with respect to any other product imported from the Soviet Union.

From the Hungarian standpoint, 22 September 1988 represented another turning point. At that time the National Planning Office, the Ministries of Finance and Industry, the Ministry of Commerce, the pricing office, and MAT reached the following agreement: Beginning in 1990 the agreement will have a closed construction once again, and in the meantime MAT must establish conditions so that beginning in 1991 MAT can take advantage of the opportunities provided by the agreement at the enterprise level, in a manner similar to a venture. The goal is, of course, that it not be in MAT's interest to raise its domestic prices in response to the effects exerted by the export subsidy system, and that one should be able to clearly see at last the financial balance of exports and imports transacted in the framework of the agreement.

From the standpoint of the Hungarian economy the unquestionable advantage presented by the agreements includes the fact that Hungarian industry may appear in the world market not with raw materials—with bauxite and aluminum oxide—but with semi-finished and finished products. The price of a ton of aluminum oxide is four times the price of bauxite, and an aluminum bar increases the price of bauxite tenfold, while in the form of semi-finished or finished products the increased value may be between 30 and 50 times higher. Last year the press vocally questioned whether greater harm would be done to the country by mining bauxite from under cavern waters (thus endangering our medicinal and thermal waters) or by altogether abandoning the exploration of bauxite. The dispute has settled somewhat, because the bauxite mining industry made the greatest variety of technical promises to protect the environment. It is yet another question how much of those promises can be fulfilled, and thus, even if we do not take a position in regard to this matter, it is just fair to indicate that this problem exists, because, after all, the Hungarian-Soviet aluminum oxide-aluminum industry agreement is based on significant Hungarian bauxite resources.

#### **MAT To Operate Entrepreneurially**

25000612B Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian  
18 Jan 90 p 5

[Interview with MAT Deputy President Dr. Nandor Sillinger, by Erzsebet Eller, place and date not given: "MAT's Venture"—first paragraph is FIGYELO introduction]

[Text] Toward the end of last year, MAT Deputy President Dr. Nandor Sillinger felt that it was too early for us



to report on the extension of the Hungarian-Soviet aluminum oxide-aluminum industry agreement. Nevertheless, a few weeks later he agreed to make a statement, because the most important issues have been settled, even though there is no agreement yet.

[FIGYELO] The year before last in September we and government organs agreed that, beginning in 1991, this agreement will be operated once again in the form of a closed construction, and that this "purse" will be in the hands of MAT....

[Sillinger] Our agreement with the various ministries and superior authorities provides that, insofar as it is possible to reach an agreement regarding conditions, the Trust will administer the agreements as its own venture, beginning in 1991. This is not the same as a closed construction, because the latter would rule out the possibility of taking advantage of financial bridging arrangements, and would not establish competition neutrality. What would we like to accomplish? We would like to see to it that in the course of implementation our partners—meaning the shippers, who export products to the Soviet Union in exchange for the difference between the value of the aluminum oxide and the aluminum—shall have an incentive to implement the agreement. One should forget about everything else, such as financial bridging, closed construction, and responsibility for business.

[FIGYELO] It is obvious that you would like to end up with profits as a result of this venture. But to my knowledge the Soviet partner insists that the difference be paid to them primarily in the form of food and light industry products, while these are the most highly subsidized products in Hungary.

[Sillinger] This is true, but we would like to formulate the group of products in such a manner that the compensation package includes only merchandise whose subsidy level is acceptable. This is why we asked the government to give us a free hand in regard to sources from which we may obtain the goods the Soviets want from us. We could make Hungarian firms compete with world market procurement sources. This is because, quite naturally, the Soviets would be willing to "pay" us only as much for canned goods, for example, as they would be able to purchase them from Argentina or Israel. We would have to pay for the difference, i.e. the Hungarian food subsidies, from some source, if domestic procurement would cost us more than what the Soviet Union could buy these items for from foreign sources. But from what source would we pay that difference? For the time being the Commerce Ministry agreed to the extent that the Trust could even import the needed goods from abroad, nevertheless the procurement and exporting conditions for these goods were not clarified. Incidentally, this problem will surface in quite a different form if within a few years we indeed change to dollar-based settlement with the Soviet Union.

[FIGYELO] Will the Soviet party regard the enterprise as an equal negotiating partner? How did this year's negotiations go, or rather, how are negotiations progressing in these weeks?

[Sillinger] The Soviets still want the governments to reach the agreement following the completion of preparatory work by the planning offices, but the enterprises directly involved could have a say in regard to conditions. Accordingly, even from an official Hungarian standpoint it is the planning office that negotiates, but we are also present at the negotiations. Our relationship with the Hungarian planning office is very proper. Most certainly we cannot wait with the consummation of this agreement until CEMA's new "rules of the game" take shape, because we could lose several years in doing so. Acting in a responsible manner, the Hungarian Government cannot disregard 200,000 tons of aluminum, a large part of which satisfies domestic demand. This is more aluminum than the amount accumulated in the world's exchange storage houses at any given moment. The world market would be upset if a buyer were to emerge overnight for that volume.

[FIGYELO] Why is it important for the Soviet partner to extend the agreement?

[Sillinger] The Soviet Union imports both bauxite and aluminum oxide, and it would have difficulty in obtaining the 530,000 tons of aluminum oxide it receives from us elsewhere. I understand that, for example, last year some substantial Soviet processing industry capacities were left idle because they were unable to provide a full supply of aluminum oxide to their factories. At the same time, establishing a capacity to replace the volume delivered from Hungary would cost between \$500 million and \$600 million, and the investment transit time would be between three and five years.

[FIGYELO] Where do the negotiations stand today?

[Sillinger] Although negotiations began in 1987, the clashing of interests, or the reconciliation of positions, began only during the fall of 1989. By now the delegations have agreed on 90 percent of the professional issues. We agreed, among other matters on an unchanged volume of continued deliveries. Differences exist as to the kinds of goods we should deliver to offset the difference between the value of aluminum oxide and aluminum. In this regard the earliest agreement was reached relative to machine industry products. In this framework we will deliver public catering facilities, refrigerated storage buildings, and medical instruments and equipment.

#### **BUSINESS WEEK To Be Published in Hungarian**

25000613A Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian  
19 Jan 90 p 5

[Text] A Hungarian-American contract was consummated at Hotel Beke yesterday concerning the monthly publication in Hungarian of BUSINESS WEEK. The magazine provides proper and accurate monetary information, and is expected to appear in Budapest beginning in May. This allegedly modest business venture will be a service to those who deal with the Hungarian economy, and with monetary issues and finances. The 72-page

Hungarian edition will contain selections from the original—weekly—translated into Hungarian. There will be 22 pages of advertising, and the resultant profits will be divided between Newspaper Publishing Enterprise [Hirlapkiado Vallalat] and BUSINESS WEEK. For the time being, all we could learn about the price of the magazine is that it will not be cheaper than PLAYBOY.

#### **'Bridge Group' To Continue Functioning**

25000676E Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian  
22 Feb 90 p 3

[Statement by the "Bridge Group" formed to advise the government regarding economic issues during its final 100 days in office]

[Text] The Bridge Group has decided to continue its work, the purpose of which is to develop the short-term action proposals that are necessary to place the Hungarian economy back on its feet. We were pleased by the interest expressed by the government, the parties, and the mass communication media in our work. In certain instances reports on, and interpretations of, our proposals and discussions with government representatives may give cause for misunderstanding. For this reason we feel that it is necessary to clarify the following:

(1) The Bridge Group is an independent group of experts which operates on a basis other than the principles of democratic centralism. Its members agree on measures that should be implemented in the short term. These require streamlined management so as to form a package plan.

(2) The present government has adopted some of the recommendations we prepared six weeks ago; they support a larger part of our recommendations in principle, but will not implement them on grounds that their own tenure and that of the legislature are limited. Differences of opinion remain with regard to a smaller number of the recommendations. This represents a rather broad agreement among negotiating partners whose starting points are essentially opposite. For this reason it would not be warranted to narrow the presentation of an exchange of ideas with governmental representatives conducted in an atmosphere of openness to a one-sided view of disputed issues. This is even more true because the steps that are not taken today will have to be taken by the next government.

(3) There is a fundamental difference of opinion between the Bridge Group and the present government regarding the inflation that had come about by the first of the year, and with regard to the regulation and long-term view of CEMA relations. We feel that individual partial measures of liberalization are taken out of context, and further, that under the present conditions fiscal, budgetary, credit, tax, and competition measures are unable to slow down the deterioration of money because of the absence of appropriate bankruptcy proceedings. We regard the present extent of inflation, and the planned rate of inflation, as excessive and dangerous. Contrary to what has been reported by television news, we do not count on three-digit inflation, and regard references to such a statement as groundless incitement. We

regard inflation as the number one enemy; for this reason we want to see the activation of moderating factors on both prices and wages equally. We do not recommend a wage and price freeze based on either economic or political arguments; no recommendation of this kind is contained in the material we have presented to the government and to the parties. Official prohibitions are insufficient to prompt a strategic rethinking of CEMA relations, or for a change in direction insofar as external markets are concerned.

(4) The difference of opinion between the Bridge Group and the government pertains to the state budget and the country's payment difficulties. We do not consider it to be the final truth that everything increases the budget deficit, irrespective of what we do or fail to do. This is only one of the symptoms of the present crisis situation, and within the budget deficit we recognize the unavoidable, hastening call for state household reform which has been delayed for long (but not by us). State household reform requires the review of the previous unfounded and excessive obligations assumed by the government, and a fundamental reduction of the state and government administration (defense, county, and council administration), independent of a shifting back and forth of certain social security and social welfare burdens within the state budget. Already at present we must work at full steam on these issues, because they have become very urgent. On the other hand, we do not suggest the further reduction of expenditures for basic research, education, and culture, or the discontinuation of competent specialized apparatuses in any field of life.

We fail to understand the relative satisfaction manifested by the government with regard to the country's international payment obligations (see: the National Planning Office state secretary's interview given to VILAGGAZDASAG), because we still recall the arguments presented to the National Assembly for purposes of having the 1990 budget approved.

Contrary to an evaluation that appeared in NEPSZABADSAG, it does not follow from the Bridge Group analysis that we will enlist every political force behind the soon-to-retire government. Our purpose was to achieve the continuity which unavoidably prevails in economic processes representing as small a predestination as possible for the democratic government. And if the present government is once again deterred from standing up against insolvent enterprises—for reasons enumerated in NEPSZABADSAG, and for other reasons—it will unavoidably leave a legacy of a disintegrating external and internal financial balance and of an accelerating inflation. This is what will count, not the arguments that explain delays. The experience that has been accumulated thus far with regard to the liquidation of Hungarian enterprises does not at all justify the fact that some persons scare Hungarian society with the specter of several hundreds of thousands of unemployed, a specter they have raised for decades. This is not the Bridge Group program; ours is one that stimulates entrepreneurship and invigorates supplies.

(5) Our continued work is motivated by a recognition that in a fragile economic situation belated measures will be necessarily more painful to society than they would have been, had they been implemented earlier and on time. Therefore, the present government will not be absolved from responsibility for failing to act, and for failing to prepare for the management of predictable crisis points (for organizing the related work), neither on the grounds of its short period of time in office, nor by the constant invocation of unquestionable successes in world politics. State administrators and researchers must not take leaves of absence during election times.

Budapest, 11 February 1990  
The Bridge Group

#### **Computers: Digital Equipment Corporation Returns**

25000676D Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG  
in Hungarian 24 Feb 90 p 6

[Unattributed article: "DEC: The End of Copying"]

[Text] A new joint enterprise will begin operations in Budapest on 2 April, under the name Digital Equipment (Hungary), Limited. The Digital Equipment Corporation [DEC] of the United States will own 51 percent of the company (amounting to \$2 million). DEC is the largest shipper in the world of network computer systems. Its sales volume amounts to \$12.7 billion. DEC has 125,000 employees. The remaining 49-percent share is owned on a 50-50 basis by the Central Physical Research Institute and the Computer Applications Enterprise. DEC acquired an option to purchase the entire joint enterprise. Initially the joint enterprise will have 30 employees. It will sell DEC computers (microVAX) and programs, and will provide maintenance and training. Ten years ago, following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, DEC fully removed itself from the East European market, disrupting its well established East European, including Hungarian, connections. Since then the unlicensed copying of DEC software and hardware products has continued undisturbed. In establishing the present joint enterprise, persons in authority have avoided answering questions about whether the American firm will demand indemnification. They said that damage suffered as a result of copying has been more or less offset by the potential market they are establishing. DEC International Manager Clifton Clarke told HVG: They do not want to disturb relations with potential partners by bringing up indemnification issues, but in the future they will take tough measures to protect their technology, and will not tolerate the unauthorized use of their patents.

#### **Airline, Airport Authority Reports to National Assembly**

25000676C Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian  
21 Feb 90 p 4

[Article by Sz. A.: "MALEV To Become a Stock Corporation"]

[Text] The National Assembly Committee on Construction and Transportation held a meeting at Ferihegy Airport to discuss the situation of Hungarian air transportation. During the past 10-15 years, between 10 and 15 billion forints have been appropriated for purposes of developing air transportation. Will this investment be recovered?

It will, according to the committee. Recovery may not, and must not, be measured only in terms of profits produced by MALEV [Hungarian Air Transportation Enterprise], even though that in itself is not negligible. MALEV's sales volume has increased by 25 percent, and has reached the 13 billion forint level. Proceeds earned in convertible currencies amount to \$160 million, and MALEV produced each dollar at a cost of 44 forints.

Tamas Erdei, president of the Air Traffic and Airport Directorate, and MALEV President Lajos Jahoda reported to the committee concerning air transportation conditions and their future plans. With the construction of Ferihegy II, and with the renewal of the old runway and the operation of new flight safety equipment, the Hungarian air terminal was reclassified from the worst category to the III/A category, which ranks Ferihegy among Europe's best.

Flight safety has improved significantly. During a five-year period, MALEV planes flew 6.3 billion passenger miles, and 155,000 hours without a single accident. Both presidents regarded the fact that Hungarian air transportation must thoroughly prepare itself for a unified Western Europe in 1992 as significant. Last year Stockholm and Trieste were added to MALEV's routes, and the addition of Cologne, Stuttgart, Hannover, Oslo, Lisbon, Ankara, Lyon, and Manchester are planned for the near future.

The aircraft inventory must be further developed. Plans call for the availability of uniform, modern equipment to passengers by 1997. MALEV has chosen the BOEING family of aircraft.

On 1 July 1990 MALEV will become a single person state-owned stock corporation.

## **POLAND**

#### **Bread Prices Controlled To Prevent Gouging**

90EP0401B Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish  
26 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Text] A new and smaller "basket" of goods subject to price controls was announced at a press conference held at the Ministry of Finance. The new list went into effect on 26 January. Any planned increase in the contractual price of a listed item must be reported to the treasury office 3 weeks in advance.

This news is important because rye and wheat flour, and bread, were added to the list as a result of cries of alarm



from both society and the treasury offices. Inspections showed instances where a 40-percent profit was obtained on bread!

But the list was reduced, and rather considerably: the previous list contained 85 goods and services and the present list shows only 17 items, e.g., thermal energy, paper, medicines, tablets, and... coffins. This means that only in these cases will the state still control, but not impose, prices. In the case of bread, many citizens remember that the French Revolution started with the horrendous prices of bread and flour. It should also be mentioned that the minister of finance's decision does not mean that prices will definitely not to up, only that the increases will be limited to the actual increase in the costs of production, and not be based on a "sky's-the-limit" calculation.

The minister of finance reported that a decision has been made to apply a 20-percent premium to the nominal value of the state treasury bond known as a "60-percent internal loan." The premium will be paid on the day the bond is purchased.

Again we are dealing with an extraordinary situation. The first bond issue was sold by 31 December 1989 without any problems. The second issue, dated 1 December, did not go as well. The popularity of this form of savings clearly declined.

Other actions are being taken to increase the attractiveness of bonds, and more will be said about this later.

#### **Regional Press Column: Economic Reports**

90EP0364A Warsaw GAZETA BANKOWA in Polish  
No 42, 44, 51-52; 16 Oct-5 Nov, 18-31 Dec 89

[Unattributed weekly columns: "From the Regional Press"]

[No. 42, 16-22 Oct p 6]

[Text] The recently formed Polish-West German joint venture between BTM Juventur and Wolff-Ost-Reisen is building a hotel in Wroclaw.

As a direct result of Lech Walesa's visit in the FRG, offers of cooperation have been made to six enterprises in the Gdansk region by West German firms.

The Szkuner Fishing Enterprise from Wladyslawow and the American firm Curtis International have opened a joined venture Shkooner Ltd.

In Szczecin, another freight forwarding firm in addition to Cargo Service, Nowatrans has been formed.

There are 18 different partnerships operating at the Chemitex-Wistom Chemical Fiber Plants in Tomaszow Mazowiecki.

The Wroclaw District Branch of the National Bank of Poland has begun storing valuables and securities in its safes.

The Regional Court in Tarnobrzeg has overturned a resolution of the supervisory council of the district dairy cooperative requiring the board to reduce shipments of milk by 50 percent.

Dolmed, the Lower Silesian Center for Medical Diagnostics, which examines the health of large social and occupational groups has been awarded the International Gold Star by the Business Initiative Direction of San Antonio, California [as printed].

Okocim, a light beer from a brewery in Brzesk (Tarnow Voivodship) won the gold medal at a world beer competition in Brusse's.

Each year, 10,000 to 11,000 foreign hunters visit Poland. Shooting a wild duck costs DM10, a pheasant DM13, a lynx, DM3,000.

[No. 44, 30 Oct-5 Nov p 6]

[Text] The management of Polish Post, Telegraph, and Telephone in Bydgoszcz Voivodship has hit upon the idea of organizing auctions for telephone service. The profits from the effort are to be earmarked for expanding the telephone exchanges.

After three months of operation, the Baltic Uniservice Ship Company has the 2,200 ton Rega and soon will have the 4,000 ton Ina.

The Szczecin City Office has put 46 building sites up for sale and has earned it nearly 1 billion zloty.

In Szczecin, the Western Pomeranian Economic Society of 43 private entrepreneurs has been registered. One of the Society's first efforts is supposed to be the formation of a land and industrial bank.

The Marpa Trade and Service Society of Szczecin, which promotes the export of yard furniture, has organized another trade and commercial fair for food goods.

ANONS in Wroclaw and OKO in Opole, recently formed private weeklies, print advertising and classified ads.

The Lodz Voivodship Confederation of Trade Unions and the trade unions of three Lodz enterprises, including those at Stomil, have formed Celpol, Inc., a production, service, and trade enterprise, to pursue innovation and implementation in light industry.

Representatives of the Environmental Protection Agency visited Krakow. The purpose of the visit was to learn about ways of investing \$15 million in environmental protection in Krakow.

Fonica in Lodz has begun production of compact disc players using sub-assemblies licensed by Sony, Sanyo, and Mitsumi. A single player costs 1.2 million zloty.

[No. 51-52, 18-31 Dec p 8]

[Text] The Gdansk Sezam, a department store, has become the property of the Sezam Department Stores, a partnership of the Voivodship Domestic Retail Enterprise and the Gdansk-Hamburg GmbH (formed by the Gdansk Voivodship People's Council and the West German firm IMG Hamburg in Gdansk). The goods in the Sezam will be western; the prices, in zloty; and the conversion rate, the market one.

The Lodz District Office of the Orbis State Travel Agency, in addition to arranging tourism, intends to open a store.

For the first time since the war in Poland, the Lodz Market has organized an auction of wool.

Another market for money and commodities, including chemical raw materials, construction materials, paper, foreign consumer goods, commercial paper, convertible currencies and insurance, freight forwarding, warehousing, and pawning, has been organized as part of the Krakow Free Trade Zone stock company.

#### **Rumored Rise in Tractor Prices Confirmed**

26000013 Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish  
5 Feb 90 p 2

[Text] The rumors of yet another rise in the prices of Polish-made tractors have been confirmed. As of 5 February ZPC Ursus will increase the sales prices of its products by about 50 percent more. And thus: The lightest tractor C-330 M will cost about 30 million zloty, the mid-weight C-360 3P will cost about 36 million zloty, and the heavy U-1614 will be in the vicinity of 132 million zloty. Tractors produced under license will also cost more, such as the MF 235 R, which will cost around 42 million zloty.

Approximate prices are given here because it is hard to say exactly how much the specific consumer will pay. This depends on how much of a margin of profit will be added on by the trading unit—and there are many of them due to the liquidation of monopolies. According to current opinion, Agroma is offering the cheapest prices.

#### **New Policy on Industrial Pollution; 80 Largest Polluters Listed**

90EP0370A Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish  
15 Jan 90 p 4

[List of Production Enterprises Most Harmful to the Natural Environment: "The Greatest Poisoners"]

[Text] A provision on the need to draw up a national list of production enterprises whose economic operations result in the greatest damage to the natural environment was among the ecological resolutions of the roundtable. A group of enterprises which were suggested for inclusion on the list was determined as a result of work done by the State

Inspectorate of Environmental Protection, as well as environmental protection, water management, and geology departments of voivodships. The enterprises nominated by all voivodships were scrupulously analyzed at the central level on the basis of the following criteria:

- the scale and type of the ecological threat posed, as well as its consequences for the people and the entire natural environment;
- the extent of the impact of the threat posed on areas characterized by large population density, outstanding natural features, and favorable conditions for the development of agriculture and forestry;
- the extent of technical and organizational opportunities for carrying out economic operations in compliance with the requirements of environmental protection set forth in the law.

An analysis done in keeping with the above criteria made it possible to rank conventionally all the production enterprises selected and arrange them in an order which takes into account more than just the absolute amount of pollutants discharged into the air, water, and soil.

In this manner, 80 enterprises which are the most burdensome for people and the natural environment were selected. Their geographic locations underscore once again territorial differentiation of the existing ecological threat which is very intensively accumulated in the southwestern areas of our country.

In releasing the list to the public I would like to state my desire to comply with the provision, likewise adopted at the roundtable, on the need to insure comprehensive access to information on the status of the environment and counteractions undertaken with a view to eliminating the existing ecological threat.

The intention of our ministry is to apply a special system of monitoring and action on the part of the State Inspectorate of Environmental Protection and voivodship environmental services to the 80 enterprises on the list. After all, the objective is to speed up radically actions restricting the negative influence of these enterprises on the environment. The list of these 80 enterprises actually amounts to the enumeration of the sources of extreme danger to the environment throughout the country. Therefore, I will not hesitate to express the view that taking effective protective measures by the enterprises on the list is a basic condition for their further existence. After all, certain legal and economic instruments have already been created which make it possible to eliminate entirely or in part the types of economic operations which persistently harm the people and the natural environment. The voivodship authorities will take advantage of these opportunities in all extreme cases increasingly often, in a rational but resolute manner.

With a view to urgently putting in order and regimenting all endeavors aimed at fundamentally reducing the ecological hardships created by the enterprises on the list, administrative decisions will be issued with regard to all of them before 30 June 1990 by environmental protection, water management, and geology departments of

voivodship administration which will set forth the schedules for assignments including:

- construction or updating of pollution-control installations,
- complete or partial transformation of production technologies which benefits the environment.

It is also expected that in July of this year the public will be informed about specific schedules for eliminating the hardships created by these enterprises.

The compiled list of 80 enterprises is not an ultimate or closed document. Enterprises which successfully perform their duties to the environment or those which discontinue entirely or in part their economic operations will disappear from the list. I would like to see as many enterprises as possible in the first group. New enterprises to which the system of special controls and actions applies will take the places vacated.

I am aware that institutionalized forms of ecological monitoring of the enterprises most harmful to the environment could be much more efficient if they were complemented by the development of social monitoring by all organizations whose operations include environmental protection.

I count very much on cooperation with the organs of local self-management and on the initiatives of the work forces of the production enterprises in question.

I would like to sensitize our public opinion to the current operations of the 80 enterprises mentioned, asking all of those involved in the issues of environmental protection for all kinds of remarks, conclusions, and proposals which may be directed to the departments of environmental protection, water management, and geology of proper voivodship administration.

Finally, I would like to stress that the special actions undertaken with regard to the enterprises posing the greatest ecological danger signify the beginning of the inescapable radicalization of requirements for all users of the natural environment which has now become the main task of ecological authorities.

[signed] Minister of Environmental Protection, Natural Resources, and Forestry Bronislaw Kaminski

#### **Warsaw Capital City Voivodship**

##### **Grodzisk Pharmaceutical Enterprise Polfa in Grodzisk Mazowiecki**

Very heavy pollution of the waters in the rivers Mrowna, Rokitnica, and Utrata and pollution of ground waters to a degree which makes it impossible to utilize them in 68 [wells] located on properties in the immediate vicinity of the enterprise.

##### **Warsaw Power and Heating Station Siekierki**

Heavy air pollution in the territory of Warsaw, considerable contribution to exceeding the maximum permissible

concentration of sulfur dioxide and the sedimentation of particulate matter in the area of residential developments. Pollution of the river Vistula. Considerable danger to the population residing in the vicinity of the Zawady waste heaps.

#### **Bielsko Biala Voivodship**

##### **Oswiecim Chemical Enterprise in Oswiecim**

Prevalent contributor to air pollution in the northeastern part of Bielsko-Biala Voivodship, the unfavorable influence of which extends to the territories of Krakow and Katowice Voivodships. In the vicinity of the enterprise, the permissible concentration of particulate matter is exceeded by a factor of about 2, and that of some gases by a factor of about 4. The enterprise amounts to a potential source of extraordinary danger to the environment; the waste waters discharged cause the permissible levels of pollution to be exceeded in the river Wlosienica, and the quality of water in the Vistula to deteriorate considerably.

#### **Bydgoszcz Voivodship**

##### **Janikowo Soda Enterprise in Janikowo**

Permissible concentrations of some gaseous and particulate pollutants of the air exceeded severalfold. Soil deteriorating, and ground waters excessively polluted in the area of sedimentation ponds. Water in the river Notec increasingly saline.

##### **Organika-Zachem Chemical Enterprise in Bydgoszcz**

Highly burdensome pollution of the air by toxic compounds (phenol, formaldehyde, chlorine). Corrosive waste waters discharged into the Vistula without purification. Soil and ground water contaminated by the waste stored. Potential source of an extraordinary environmental danger.

#### **Chelm Voivodship**

##### **Chelm Cement Mill in Chelm**

Continuous excessive pollution of the air with particulate matter affecting neighboring built-up areas, the Chelm Landscape Park, and nature reserves. The stored production waste is a threat to the Bariera and Chelm intakes of sub-surface water.

##### **Rejowiec Cement Mill in Rejowiec Fabryczny**

The cement mill is operated without adequate dust filters; it is highly burdensome for the adjacent urban and nature areas.

#### **Czestochowa Voivodship**

##### **Rudniki Cement Mill in Rudniki**

Permissible norms of particulate matter pollution in urban areas exceeded many times.



**Kalety Pulp and Paper Enterprise in Kalety**

Untreated, critically burdensome waste of pulp and paper production discharged into the river Mala Panew which was classified as the 1st grade of purity (the source of water supply to the populace) has caused its complete degradation.

**Czestochowa Iron Mill in Czestochowa**

Very heavy emission of particulate matter and gases endangers the population of Czestochowa and the group of Jurajskie Landscape Parks.

**Gdansk Voivodship****Processing and Shipping Enterprise of Chemical Minerals "Siarkopol" in Gdansk**

Particularly high sulfur emissions cause the pronounced acidification of soil and ground water, as well as the degradation of plants, on a considerable area adjacent to the enterprise.

**Gdansk Phosphorus Fertilizer Enterprise in Gdansk**

Permissible concentrations of fluorine compounds, sulfur oxides, and sulfuric acid in the air are exceeded many times over; likewise, tremendous heaps of phosphoric gypsum endanger residential areas and areas under special protection. Considerable pollution of the Gdansk Bay with fluorides and phosphates.

**Jelenia Gora Voivodship****Turow Brown Coal Opencast Mine in Bogatynia**

Extensive devastation of the surface of the earth. Under the influence of the depression funnel, ground waters have disappeared in the entire area of the Zytawa panhandle. Above-the-norm noise intensity and pollution of water in the rivers Nysa Luzyczna and Miedzianka.

**Turow Power Station in Bogatynia**

Continuous above-the-norm pollution of the air with sulfur dioxide, nitrogen oxide, and suspended particulate matter, as well as pollution of the soil by heavy metal compounds (contribution to the degradation of the Sudety forests). Waste water causes excessive water pollution in the rivers Miedzianka and Rybi Potok.

**Wizow Chemical Enterprise in Boleslawiec**

Above-the-norm concentrations of toxic sulfur and fluorine compounds endanger adjacent villages and cause marked degradation of soil and forests. Pollution running off the heaps of accumulated waste damages soil and ground waters. Waste water ruins the river Bobr.

**Katowice Voivodship****Hajduki Chemical Enterprise in Chorzow**

Waste water is ruining the river Rawa (permissible concentrations of phenols exceeded several dozen

times); pollutants from the waste heaps have entirely destroyed the nearby Kalina Reservoir. The enterprise makes the living conditions of local residents dramatically worse.

**Kosciusko Iron Mill in Chorzow**

Permissible concentrations of pollutants in the air (including highly toxic) in the densely populated areas of Chorzow exceeded frequently.

**Zabrze Coking Combine—the Knurow Coking Plant in Knurow**

Permissible concentrations of highly toxic pollutants exceeded severalfold in densely populated areas. Considerable health risk.

**Zabrze Coking Combine—the Gliwice Coking Plant in Gliwice**

Highly burdensome enterprise. Permissible concentrations of particulate and gaseous pollutants, including toxic, in the air exceeded severalfold in residential areas. Considerable health risk.

**Metallurgical Combine the Katowice Iron Mill in Dabrowa Gornicza**

The largest source of the emission of atmospheric pollution in Katowice Voivodship. Emissions of metallurgical particulate matter (including lead and cadmium) and power-industry matter (including fluorine and hydrocarbons) causing permissible concentrations of pollutants in the air to be exceeded on a considerable area. Excessive amounts of pollutants (including iron and zinc) are discharged into water.

**P. Finder Nitrogenous Fertilizer Enterprise in Chorzow—Bobrek Carbide Plant in Bytom**

Highly burdensome pollution of the air with gases and particulate matter (including highly toxic); in the most ecologically threatened quarters of Bytom, permissible concentrations are exceeded several to several dozen times.

**Century Cement Mill in Ogrodzieniec**

Permissible concentrations of particulate and gaseous matter in the air, including those highly toxic, exceeded several times in built-up areas, as well as in adjacent areas under special protection.

**Makoszowy Coking Plant in Zabrze-Makoszowy**

Very heavy particulate and gaseous pollution of the air, including many particularly harmful toxic substances; their permissible concentrations are exceeded several to several dozen times; considerable health risk.

**Friendship Coking Enterprise in Dabrowa Gornicza**

Considerable emission of particulate and gaseous pollutants from coking processes. The discharge of waste water

containing excessive quantities of phenols, cyanides, rhodanates, and ammonia nitrogen.

#### **Rybnik Power Station in Rybnik**

Sizable emission of air pollutants causing the permissible norms of particulate and gaseous emission of the air to be exceeded many times. Transportation and improper storage of waste cause secondary dusting which endangers built-up areas.

#### **Laziski Iron Mill in Laziski Gorne**

Highly burdensome emission of pollutants into the air; permissible concentrations of particulate matter and gases in areas with dense residential structures have been exceeded many times.

#### **Laziski Power Station in Laziski Gorne**

Highly burdensome emission of pollutants into the air; considerable contribution to exceeding the permissible norms of concentration of particulate matter and gases. Affects built-up areas and nature in a large area.

#### **Siersza Power Station in Trzebinia**

Highly burdensome emission of pollutants into the air; considerable influence on exceeding the permissible concentrations of particulate matter and gases. Affects built-up areas and nature in a large area.

#### **Lagisza Power Station in Bedzin**

Highly burdensome emission of pollutants into the air; considerable contribution to exceeding permissible concentrations of particulate matter and gases. Affects built-up areas and nature in a large area.

#### **Jaworzno III Power Station in Jaworzno**

Highly burdensome emission of pollutants into the air; considerable contribution to exceeding permissible concentrations of particulate matter and gases. Affects built-up areas and nature in a large area. Untreated waste water and a waste heap cause dangerous contamination of the river Przemsza.

#### **Hard Coal Mine Czeczot in Wola**

#### **Hard Coal Mine Piast in Tychy**

#### **Hard Coal Mine Ziemowit in Tychy**

Mine waters from these mines constitute the prevalent source of catastrophic salination of the Upper Vistula which causes extremely unfavorable consequences for the biocenosis of the river, promotes the corrosion of heating, water supply, and sewer installations, water management structures, and river craft, and restricts considerably the opportunity to use surface waters for the needs of industry, municipal uses, and agriculture.

#### **Bobrek Iron Mill in Bytom**

Highly burdensome air pollution, permissible concentrations of particulate matter and toxic gases in built-up areas exceeded by a dozen or so times.

#### **Zinc Smelting Plant Miasteczko Slaskie**

Highly burdensome pollution of the air, permissible concentrations of particulate matter and gases in forested and built-up areas exceeded severalfold. Critical pollution of the soil with heavy metals, especially lead and cadmium, which rules out agricultural use.

#### **Mining and Metallurgical Enterprise Boleslaw in Bukowno**

Extremely high pollution of all elements of the environment with heavy metals, including lead, zinc, and cadmium. The degree of soil degradation renders agricultural use impossible.

#### **Organika-Azot Chemical Enterprise in Jaworzno**

Untreated corrosive waste water causes marked pollution of surface and ground waters and soil. Dangerous post-production waste causes considerable contamination of the soil and water, mainly by pesticides.

#### **Kielce Voivodship**

#### **Nowiny Cement and Lime Enterprise in Sitkowka**

Highly burdensome pollution of the air by particulate matter and gases in well-developed urban areas, as well as in the areas under special protection.

#### **Konin Voivodship**

#### **Aluminum Smelting Plant Konin in Konin**

Highly burdensome pollution of the air, water, and soil by highly toxic fluorine compounds in the area of the city of Konin and nearby settlements and villages. Waste water causes the quality of water in the Warta to deteriorate in the area of water intake for Konin.

#### **Konin Power Station in Konin**

Sizable emission of particulate matter and gaseous pollutants. Discharge of heated water and waste water to Patnow Lake which causes its eutrophication.

#### **Krakow Voivodship**

#### **Krakow Soda Plant in Krakow**

Extremely worn out production lines with high accident rates burdening the atmosphere located in the downtown area of the largest residential development of Krakow. Chlorine compounds contained in raw sewage and bleached from sedimentation ponds adjacent to the enterprise constitute a significant source of pollution for, among others, the rivers Vistula and Wilga.

**Metallurgical Combine Lenin Iron Mill in Krakow**

One of the most burdensome sources of air pollution throughout the country poses an exceptional danger for the people and monuments of Krakow and agriculture and nature in the entire region.

**Krakow Pharmaceutical Enterprise Polfa in Krakow**

Highly burdensome emission of gaseous pollutants, and especially aromatic hydrocarbons, affects the immediately adjacent residential areas and groups of monuments in Krakow.

**Legnica Voivodship****Mining and Metallurgical Combine—Copper Metallurgical Plant in Legnica**

Highly burdensome pollution of all elements of the environment with toxic gases and particulate matter, including highly toxic compounds of heavy metals. Danger to the health of the people of Legnica and adjacent forests and farmland.

**Mining and Metallurgical Combine—Copper Metallurgical Plant Glogow I in Glogow**

High rate of emission of particulate and gaseous pollutants, including highly toxic. Considerable area of flotation waste storage causing the pollution of air, soil, and water. Deterioration of farmland and forest land.

**Lublin Voivodship****Truck Works in Lublin**

Highly burdensome air pollution, permissible concentration of particulate matter and gases in densely populated areas has been exceeded many times. Waste water with a considerable content of heavy metal pollutes surface waters.

**Nitrogenous Fertilizer Plant in Pulawy**

High emission of particulate matter and gases causes soils and plants to deteriorate in sizable areas, including those under special protection—Kazimierski Landscape Park and the resort in Naleczow. Forest stands destroyed in an area of about 8,000 hectares.

**Lodz Voivodship****Dies Industry Enterprise Boruta in Zgierz**

Highly burdensome pollution of the air with particularly toxic compounds the concentration of which exceeds permissible norms. Extremely corrosive raw sewage ruins water in the river Bzura.

**Polonit Enterprises for Seals and Asbestos Products in Lodz, Enterprise B**

Highly burdensome pollution by toxic substances—gasoline solvent—and particulate matter containing asbestos, as well as noise intensity in residential areas exceeding permissible norms.

**Nowy Sacz Voivodship****Sacz Electrical Coal Processing Enterprises in Nowy Sacz**

Highly burdensome pollution with hydrocarbons in densely populated areas and areas under special protection.

**Opole Voivodship****Coking Enterprise of the Silesian Insurgents in Zdzeszowice**

Highly burdensome air pollution by toxic gases and particulate matter in areas with dense residential structures. Considerable health risk.

**Blachownia Chemical Enterprise in Kedzierzyn-Kozle**

Highly burdensome air pollution to a degree exceeding permissible concentrations of gaseous pollutants, including toxic substances, in built-up areas. Dangerous waste accumulated in considerable quantities endangers the purity of ground and surface water. Considerable deterioration of farmland and forest areas.

**Kedzierzyn Nitrogenous Fertilizer in Kedzierzyn-Kozle**

Sizable emission of particulate and gaseous pollutants, in particular ammonia, causes nearby forests and soil to deteriorate. A considerable source of pollution in the waters of the Odra.

**Ostroleka Voivodship****Ostroleka Pulp and Paper Enterprise in Ostroleka**

Permissible concentrations of particulate pollutants and malodorous gases were exceeded many times. Waste water causes considerable water pollution in the river Narew. Improperly stored waste endangers ground water.

**Piotrkow Voivodship****The Belchatow Power Station in Rogowiec**

The greatest emission of gases in the country. Marked deterioration of a large area of forests. Waste storage causes an increase in the pollution of ground water.

**The Belchatow Brown Coal Opencast Mine in Belchatow**

Ground surface disturbed over a large area; an extensive depression funnel formed which causes the disappearance of water in shallow water intakes, drying of the soil, and subsidence of the ground. Farmland and forests endangered.

**Wistom Chemical Fiber Plant in Tomaszow Mazowiecki**

Sizable emission of hydrogen sulfide, carbon disulfide, and sulfur dioxide damages built-up areas. One of the main sources of pollution in the river Pilica.



#### **Plock Voivodship**

##### **Mazowsze Refinery and Petrochemical Enterprise in Plock**

Above-the-norm particulate and gaseous pollution of the air with toxic substances in well-developed urban areas. The enterprise is one of the main direct sources of pollution of the middle reaches of the Vistula and a potential source of environmental threat due to an accident.

#### **Poznan Voivodship**

##### **Poznan Chemical Enterprise in Lubon**

High emission of gaseous pollutants, including fluorine and suspensions of sulfuric acids and sulfur dioxide. The contamination of the soil and ground water in the area of the dumping ground by very harmful post-production waste. Pollution of the river Warta and deterioration of nature in the area of the Great Poland National Park.

#### **Rzeszow Voivodship**

##### **Rzeszow Enterprise of Vapor Lamps Polam-Rzeszow in Podgizdow Nowy**

The enterprise is being liquidated. The waste containing mercury and stored in the compound of the plant causes the contamination of the soil and ground water, as well as the emission of mercury into the air.

#### **Skierniewice Voivodship**

##### **Chodakow Chemical Fiber Enterprise Chemitex in Sochaczew**

Permissible concentrations of carbon disulfide in the air in residential areas and in the Kampinos National Park were exceeded severalfold. The waste waters pollute the rivers Utrata and Bzura.

#### **Szczecin Voivodship**

##### **Police Chemical Enterprise in Police**

High emission of particulate matter and gases into the air, including ammonia and sulfuric acid. Inadequately treated waste causes the quality of water in the Odra to deteriorate. Strip Phosphorous gypsum storage constitutes a potential source of extreme danger to the environment.

##### **Chemical Fiber Enterprise Chemitex-Wiskord in Szczecin**

Considerable emission of hydrogen sulfide and carbon disulfide in the affected region causes permissible concentrations to be exceeded in built-up areas and areas under special protection. Waters polluted by acidic sewage containing zinc.

#### **Tarnobrzeg Voivodship**

##### **Siarkopol Mine and Sulfur Processing Enterprise in Tarnobrzeg**

Air polluted by toxic gaseous compounds. Waste waters have completely ruined the rivers Mokrzyszowska and Trzesniowka and are a significant source of pollution of the Vistula.

##### **T. Kosciuszko Power Station in Polaniec**

High emission of sulfur dioxide, nitrogen oxides, and particulate matter into the air. Degradation of soil in the area of ash storage.

##### **Stalowa Wola Power Station in Stalowa Wola**

High emission of sulfur dioxide and particulate matter into the air in a well-developed urban area. Degradation of soil around ash storage.

##### **Mine and Sulfur Chemistry Enterprise Siarkopol in Grzybow**

High emission of toxic particulate and gaseous pollutants. Pronounced soil degradation. Waste water pollutes the water in the rivers Czarna Staszowska and Wschodnia.

#### **Tarnow Voivodship**

##### **Nitrogenous Fertilizer Enterprise in Tarnow**

High emission of toxic substances into the air poses an ecological threat for Tarnow. Markedly polluted waste waters destroy the rivers Biala and Dunajec.

##### **ERG Plastics Enterprises in Pustkow**

Burdensome emission of phenol and formaldehyde into the air and water. Pollution of the Wisloka with formaldehyde in the event of an accident threatens the intake of water for Mielec.

##### **Niedomice Pulp Enterprise in Niedomice**

Water in the rivers Zabnica and Bren destroyed by untreated waste; ground waters in the tributary areas of these rivers are polluted; several hundred farms are deprived of drinking water. Permissible concentrations of gaseous compounds in the air are exceeded.

#### **Torun Voivodship**

##### **Torun Enterprises of Non-Organic Industry Polchem in Torun**

Concentrations of sulfur dioxide in the air exceeding those permissible and the high accident rate of equipment cause considerable deterioration of nature, especially forests. A potential source of extreme environmental threat. A considerable source of pollution in the Vistula.

**Walbrzych Voivodship****Walbrzych Coking Enterprise in Walbrzych**

A highly burdensome enterprise. Permissible concentrations of particulate and gaseous pollutants in the air, including highly toxic compounds, are exceeded several-fold in the residential areas. Considerable health risk. Contamination of underground water by the storage site of toxic tar waste.

**Power and Heating Station Victoria in Walbrzych**

High emission of particulate matter and gases in a densely populated area (Walbrzych) and an area under special protection (Szczawno-Zdroj).

**Wloclawek Voivodship****Pulp and Paper Enterprise in Wloclawek**

Considerable source of pollution in the Vistula due to insufficiently treated production waste. Permissible concentrations of sulfur dioxide exceeded in a densely populated affected area; emission of malodorous compounds into the air.

**Nitrogenous Fertilizer Plant in Wloclawek**

Emission of considerable amounts of nitrogen oxides, sulfur dioxide, ammonia, vinyl chloride, and particles of polivinyllchloride creates difficulties for the citizens of Wloclawek and poses a threat to some of its citizens given an unfavorable combination of atmospheric factors. Significant potential source of extreme environmental threat.

**Wroclaw Voivodship****Odra Enterprise of Organic Industry Organika-Rokita in Brzeg Dolny**

High emissions of toxic substances into the atmosphere: phenol, chlorophenol, benzene, and hydrogen sulfide. Permissible concentrations of phenols in the air exceeded several times. Deterioration of the Odra as a result of inadequate treatment of the waste. Excessive concentration of mercury in the soil in the vicinity of the enterprise. Potential source of extreme environmental threat.

**Hutmen Metallurgical and Processing Enterprise for Non-Ferrous Metals in Wroclaw**

Permissible concentrations of particulate matter, zinc, and lead in the air in a well-developed urban area exceeded. Contamination of the soil and ground water in the area of the enterprise and in the region of waste accumulation.

**Viscoplast Chemical Enterprise in Wroclaw**

Permissible concentrations of sulfur dioxide in the inhabited area affected by the plant have been exceeded severalfold. Pollution of Odra by heavy metals due to the insufficient treatment of waste waters, as well as of the soil in the vicinity of the waste storage areas.

**Olawa Metallurgical Enterprise in Olawa**

Considerable emission of particulate matter containing heavy metals into the air causes pronounced contamination of the environment with lead, zinc, and cadmium in the urban zone affected by the plant.

**Siechnice Metallurgical Enterprise in Siechnice**

The enterprise is being liquidated. The heap of metallurgical slag poses a threat to the water intake for Wroclaw.

## BULGARIA

### Government Commission Reviews Reaction to Chernobyl

90EB0264A Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO  
in Bulgarian 28 Dec 89 pp 1, 4

[Article by (BTA) detailing the announcement by the Council of Ministers' Standing Government Commission on the organization and management of rescue and other emergency work in the case of natural disasters and major production accidents]

[Text] In connection with the publications in RABOTNICHESKO DELO of the articles "Backdated Diary" (19 December 1989) and "The Truth Cannot Be Concealed" (21 December 1989) commenting on the situation which developed in the country after the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident (26 April 1986), the staff of the Standing Government Commission (PPK), having reassessed the facts of the situation and the steps taken at that time, deems necessary to make the following clarifications:

Both articles raise essential and vitally important problems in which the citizens of our country are exceptionally interested. The authors tried to back their conclusions and assessments on the measurements of the extent of radioactive pollution of the environment during that time. The data provided in the articles on the extent of radioactive pollution are consistent with the results of the measurements available to the government commission. However, by indicating only the extent of pollution in terms of ordinary circumstances, as was done by Comrade Veselka Marinova, without indicating the acceptable health standard and the way this is applied to the dose to which the population is exposed, an erroneous concept may result concerning the scale of its influence on human health.

We must take into consideration that in assessing the consequences of radioactive pollution and the efficiency of the steps which were taken, we must proceed not on the extent of environmental pollution but on the end results, the dose to which the population is exposed during the first and subsequent years after the accident.

The main radiation of the Bulgarian population as a result of the Chernobyl accident can be determined on the basis of several essential sources: the radiation gamma background; the absorption of radioactive substances by the body in breathing polluted air and consuming polluted food and water.

The studies which the Institute of Nuclear Medicine, Radiobiology, and Radiation Hygiene of the Medical Academy conducted in 1986-87 indicated that in the first year following the accident (May 1986-May 1987) the Bulgarian population did not receive a radiation dose above admissible standards (five milliSieverts).

For the entire body of adults it totals about one-third of the annual norm and for the thyroid gland, about one-tenth; in the case of children, for the entire body it is about one-fifth, and for the thyroid gland, about one-half of the annual norm.

Such data are supported by the Scientific Committee on the Effect of Nuclear Radiation of the United Nations, whose studies indicate that during the first year the country's population received a load averaging 0.99 milliSieverts per year.

The data reported by Comrade V. Marinova, to the effect that increased radioactivity of the air in the first days of May 1986 "exceeded from several hundred to several thousand times the standard values," and that air pollution was in excess of 10,000 times, as well as the fact that "the total activity precipitated in May 1986 was higher than the clean air level by 90-1,400 times for northern Bulgaria, and from 340 to 1,700 times for southern Bulgaria" are accurate. However, to determine the extent to which this influenced the population's health, such data should have been compared not with the ordinary pollution figures prior to the accident but with the radiation safety standards accepted in our country.

According to the data submitted to PPK headquarters by the authorities in charge of the respective measurements, the average values of radioactive pollution of the air for May 1986 were 3,640 millibecquerels per cubic meter, with an admissible pollution standard of 11,000. In June radioactive pollution of the air dropped below 15 millibecquerels per cubic meter.

The highest values of atmospheric deposits were recorded on Botev Peak: on 1 May, 21 kilobecquerels per square meter; on 3 May, 119 kilobecquerels per square meter; in some parts of the country they ranged from 10 to 25 kilobecquerels per square meter (with a radiation safety standard in a premise of 10 kilobecquerels per square meter).

Said pollution during that period was essentially due to Iodine-131, which has a shorter half-life of eight days and which has actually no substantial influence on the overall dose of exposure of the population. The average radiation dose caused by Iodine-131, determined through direct measurements of the activities of the thyroid gland, is as follows: for individuals over the age of six, about one-twelfth of the annual rate; for children under six, a slightly higher dose compared to adults but considerably below the admissible standard.

The data of the radioactive pollution and the steps which were taken were not always made public. Precise information on the radioactive situation was provided regularly to the departments which had to deal with the problems related to surmounting the consequences.

The critical remarks in the article "The Truth Cannot Be Concealed" to the effect that the PPK did not promptly react to the developed situation, are not substantiated.



As early as the morning of 30 April 1986, based on the unofficial information on the existence of radioactive pollution in Sweden and Finland, the commission's headquarters made a forecast of the situation and the very same day, with telegram No. 71, instituted permanent control over the radiation observation system. As a result of the obtained data on the existence of radioactive pollution, on 2 May the radiometric laboratories of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, and the Bulgarian Civil Defense converted to permanent laboratory control.

A PPK conference with the participation of other specialists was held on 3 May, at which the situation was discussed. It was decided to suggest to the Council of Ministers to hold a meeting with the participation of the chairmen of the executive committees of okrug people's councils, which took place on 4 May. The following tasks based on the situation were formulated at the meeting:

- No leafy vegetables should be consumed and their sale on the public and private markets should be stopped;
- Ewe's milk to be used for processing into durable dairy products;
- Water pollution should be systematically checked, and plants manufacturing nonalcoholic beverages should be ready to supply the population of some parts of the country with mineral water;
- The output of enterprises producing food for children should be kept under control;
- Streets, paths in the parks, and courtyards in kindergartens and schools should be washed regularly;
- Restrict the feeding of green fodder to livestock, etc.

After the meeting, by Order No. R-65 of the Council of Ministers, dated 4 May, a commission of experts consisting of noted scientists and specialists was set up to assist the PPK. It was assigned, on the basis of analyses of the actual radiation situation, to suggest corresponding scientific steps to protect the population and to ensure the normal functioning of the national economy. On 5 May the commission suggested that temporary standards be set on the admissible radioactivity of food products. This was used as a base in making administrative and economic decisions, such as to protect the population from any amount of exposure above admissible health standards.

On the suggestion of the commission of experts, with telegram No. 78, dated 9 May, additional instructions were issued to the chairmen of executive committees of okrug people's councils, as follows:

- The population should not consume fresh milk and yogurt made of ewe's and goat milk, which should be processed into durable dairy products;
- Ban the consumption of fresh milk by children in nurseries and kindergartens, student cafeterias, and hospitals. Dry milk to be provided for such population categories;

- Areas planted in (repko), alfalfa, and other green fodder to be mowed; the grass to be taken out of the mowed areas, dried, and not fed to the livestock;
- Green areas in parks and gardens to be mowed immediately. The mowed grass to be taken out of the area and disposed of;
- Forbid assigning children and secondary school students to help agriculture; limit mass projects involving children and secondary school students (hikes, rallies, sports games, etc.).

Considering that the basic exposure of the population could come from nutrition, the PPK paid particular attention to monitoring the pollution of food products from animal and vegetal origin and preventing the consumption of foods polluted above the admissible standards by the population, children in particular.

Bearing in mind the high pollution of leafy vegetables, which reached its maximal activity on or about 12 May, from 2,000 to 10,000 Bk per kg, the commission banned their sale in public and private markets. The overall pollution of early fruits did not exceed more than 100 Bk/kg (with a standard of 200 Bk/kg), for which reason their consumption was allowed. All that was recommended was that they be washed.

Particular attention was paid to monitoring milk pollution. The highest levels were recorded on 7 and 8 May—1,130-1,220 Bk/liter (with standards of 2,000 for adults and 500 for children), which dropped to 490-640 Bk/liter by 19 May. Due to the fact that the pollution of ewe's and goat milk in some areas exceeded the stipulated norms for adults, the consumption of such milk was forbidden and the instruction was issued that the milk be processed into durable products; the existing amounts of dry milk were distributed among individual okrugs.

The radioactive contamination of the meat became apparent at the beginning of June. Of the meat received by the meat combines between June and September 1986 it was only veal that showed contamination levels close to or above the temporary standard of 500 Bk/kg. That meat was not allowed for direct consumption but used for the production of meat products with technological conditions which allowed the lowering of contamination below admissible standards.

Throughout the entire period, with the exception of a single water main in Plovdiv (the use of which was prohibited) drinking water was virtually clean (from one to six Bk/liter, with a standard of 75 Bk/liter).

Critical remarks have been made according to which permission was granted to feed cattle contaminated fodder. Let us not ignore the fact that by the end of May 1986 fodder reserves of the 1985 crop in the animal husbandry complexes had been consumed and the country was in no condition to destroy the fodder from the first mowing, for which reason all that was done was to limit its consumption which, in some parts of the

country, led to a certain increase of the contamination of products of animal origin in the spring of 1987.

Based on gammaspectrometric results of analyses, the PPK ordered the following:

- Permanent radiation monitoring to be instituted in the respective okrugs for food of animal and plant origin and efficient steps to be taken;
- Raw materials received by enterprises producing children's foods to be monitored for radiation by the Agricultural Academy, and the finished products also by the Institute of Nuclear Medicine, Radiobiology, and Radiation Hygiene so that no batches of polluted children's food be allowed to reach the stores;
- Cheese made of ewe's milk in May 1986, totaling 300 tons, not to be sold by the Milk Industry Economic Trust;
- Temporarily to halt sales of apple juice and to organize the use of apple concentrate for the production of more diluted nonalcoholic beverages;
- Not to allow sales by stores of food products not exported abroad, with radioactive contamination exceeding our standards;
- Until otherwise ordered, the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare to organize mass prophylactic fluorographic examinations of the population and to limit to the possibly lowest amount the use of X-ray and radioisotope methods, so that the overall exposure of the citizens would not exceed the annual health standards.

During that period, 40,000 tons of wheat from the northeastern parts of the country were shipped to Khaskovo and Stara Zagora Okrugs so that no more than 50 percent of locally produced wheat be used in the production of bread and bakery goods in these two okrugs. Herbs contaminated over the admissible standard worth in excess of 2 million leva were destroyed. Other local measures were carried out by the executive committees of the okrug people's councils.

The articles raised the question of the so-called "hot particles," discovered by Prof. Tsvetan Bonchev, about which no unanimous opinion exists among scientists in Bulgaria and abroad concerning the radiation risk of such particles entering the lungs. Although this question was raised for the first time in the United States in the 1950's, it is still considered a scientific hypothesis. Nor is this problem being considered by the international organizations dealing with radiation safety. Nonetheless, in May-June 1986 the Scientific Institute of Nuclear Medicine, Radiobiology, and Radiation Hygiene tried to find such particles in human lungs. Forty-two corpses of individuals who died in accidents during that period were studied but no such particles were found.

The claim that the suggestion of banning mass sports events, using student brigades, and so on was rejected, is false. Such and similar activities were banned as early as 9 May 1986 with telegram No. 78 sent to the chairmen of the executive committees of okrug people's councils.

Claims of increased number of abortions, births of defective children, anomalies, and teratogenic effects were equally inaccurate. According to the Institute of Obstetrics and Gynecology of the Medical Academy, no substantial differences among individual years were noted in the study of statistical data of some indicators related to the reproduction of the Bulgarian population (stillborn, spontaneous abortions, etc.) for the 1980-88 period. Thus, for example, the indicator of stillborn children for 1980-88 ranged between 6.60 and 7.69 per 1,000 newly-born children. The 1986 indicator dropped below six percent. Its lowest figure was 4.32 percent for 1987. The percentage of spontaneous abortions for the period preceding and following the Chernobyl accident remained equally unchanged, ranging between 11.83 and 12.76 percent.

The Chernobyl accident caught our country, as well as other affected countries, unprepared for working and living with such a radiation situation. In the course of the study of the results of the observations and investigations, it was necessary to formulate the necessary protective measures, a contribution to which was made also by the expert commission of the PPK, consisting of scientific workers and other specialists. Some of the suggested protective measures were not accepted by the commission not because of their inexpediency but due to the limited possibilities of the country; others were rejected because of the strong psychological influence which their application would have had on the population.

An extensive study of the consequences of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident in the country and the efficiency of the protective measures which were implemented was made in 1987 at the practical science conference chaired by the chairman of the Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy for Peaceful Purposes. At the conference, noted scientists and specialists openly expressed their views on the problems. As a result of the study and the conclusions which were summed up by the headquarters of the PPK, the Council of Ministers passed Resolution No. 53 of 1988 on increasing the preparedness of the country to act under conditions of increased radiation.

A number of practical steps were taken in the implementation of this resolution.

The posts monitoring radioactivity in the country were equipped with highly sensitive instruments worth 220,000 foreign exchange leva, for measuring the gamma background and surface contamination. Equipment for gammaspectrometric analysis, worth 320,000 foreign exchange leva was purchased to equip the newly established oblast radiometric control laboratories.

Gas masks, respirators, children's protective compartments worth about 4.9 million leva were issued to the population of the area adjacent to the Kozolduy nuclear power plant. Iodine prevention preparations (100,000 packages) were produced and are being distributed. A mask for the protection from radioactive iodine will be developed.

Many other steps were taken, which increased the readiness of the country to act under conditions of increased

radiation. A program for additional steps for the 1990-95 period, the approval of which is pending, has been formulated and is about to be ratified.

In conclusion, let us emphasize that the permanent commissions (okrug and municipal) and their staffs and the administrative and economic authorities in the country as a whole were not prepared to operate under conditions of increased radiation. It is imperative to pay greater attention to problems related to protecting the population and the national economy under such situations.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### New Social Organizations Founded

#### Consumer Union

90EC0287A Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech  
2 Feb 90 p 4

[Article by (art): "Yes, We Want To and Will Defend Ourselves"]

[Text] Certainly everyone will agree when we start to cast doubts on the adequate quality of the goods available on our market, on the appropriateness of their prices, or on the quality of the services offered. Just one person pays for everything that is bad—the consumer—and thus actually our entire society. This question is coming to the fore currently when there is promise that our market will receive a broader selection of products.

Fifteen million inhabitants of the country, and thus fifteen million consumers (except for an insignificant percentage who have advantages due to various tricks), are practically at the mercy of the manufacturers and providers of services. An injured party has some sort of protection in the Committees of People's Control; however, the committees have many other duties and prevention is always better than taking action after the fact. There are still not enough operating Consumer Control Councils at the NV [national committees] or Oversight Committees of the consumer cooperatives.... So, nothing that would actually help the general public.

Yesterday's news conference addressed this problem when the preparatory committee of the Association of Czechoslovak Consumers announced its plans to the press in Prague.

In connection with various initiatives by citizens and institutes, the leadership of the UV NF [central committee of the national front] of the CSSR even before 17 November had approved the formation of a nonpolitical organization looking after the interests of consumers and called for the creation of a working group which would see to preparations for establishing it. The group worked out a program and bylaws as a basis for registration and made contact with centers in which similar organizations were associated abroad.

On this Saturday, that is, 3 February, the preparatory committee is calling a general meeting of all those interested in the work and membership in the Association for 10:00 a.m. in the conference hall of the Club of the Ministry of Trade and Tourism of the CSR [Czech Socialist Republic] at Paris Street, No 4. For that occasion, committee secretary Eng H. Applova requests that those interested bring with them a product which is obviously worthless and add it to an exhibition of the "quality" of production by our consumer industry. Trash bins will reportedly be provided.

On the types of activities by the Association of Czechoslovak Consumers, a member of the preparatory committee, M. Herak, said to us, among other things, "We want to represent the interest of the consumers in an overall broad, organically connected assemblage. We are building up an objective system for acquiring and transmitting information on the quality of products and services. We will appear as a social professional defender for protection of the rights and interests of consumers in legal and claims matters. We have plans for also pushing for legislative recognition of the features of consumer protection in the laws and standards." In short, the consumers want to and will defend themselves. And M. Herak informed us of one other thing: a candidate for chairperson or president of the association is Vera Caslavská.

Considering the fact that every citizen of Czechoslovakia who is at least 18 years old or a citizen of another country who is permanently living on Czechoslovak territory without regard to political affiliation or employment situation can become a member of the Association, at this time the organization has a full 10 million potential members. Indeed, the interests of all our inhabitants, while at the same time varying in nature, agree on one thing: it is necessary to produce better goods at a higher quality level and it is necessary for the services actually to render service, in short, to better satisfy the demands of all consumers.

But how do we achieve this? Yesterday's press conference also offered a start to this. The broader the membership base, the greater will be the level of information available to our citizens on the quality of products and services and the less chance a manufacturer or store will have if they work at a poor level of quality. Where will trash find a market if each of us knows about its quality? Of course, this presumes doing away with the producers' monopolies and a broader selection in the market, but perhaps this year will provide an answer to this as well.

The preparatory committee has received the first hundred or so responses to the information in the press on the formation of the Association of Czechoslovak Consumers. Not only individuals who have a reason to complain are joining the Association, but also those who wish to help as experts in individual fields and expert witnesses in court. Letters from collectives are also arriving, such as from the Institute for Technical Development and Information in Prague, where the employees in the quality inspection sector are offering their cooperation. The Association is gaining



support among the state agencies as well, even though it of course wants to work independently.

We can take a flight into the future only on paper at this time, but let us imagine: In the store window alongside the Diners Club or Eurocard posters, there is also a conspicuous quality certificate of the Association of Czechoslovak Consumers. This means that you get quality service here, that is, willing service with interest in the customer. The goods in the store also have quality tags which the Association awards to them according to experts' tests. This product here has no such designation; perhaps its manufacturer was afraid to have it put to the test. Our decision will obviously be clearcut. And where to go for dinner after shopping? Well, only to a restaurant which bears the quality marker of the Association. We can be sure that they will not cheat us and the manager can also be sure that his restaurant will always be full...

That is the end of the fantasy. To reach it we still have to do a lot, if not everything, but does it not sound nice?

#### **Association of Retired Persons**

90EC0287B Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech  
2 Feb 90 p 4

[Article by (c): "Union of Retirees"]

[Text] The CSR Union of Retirees already has roughly 10,000 members and more and more applications are

coming in. It is no wonder, since two and one-half million retirees live in Bohemia and Moravia, often in very poor social conditions and sometimes below the level of a minimum standard of living in a degrading position "on the fringes of society." Union representatives revealed yesterday at a press conference in Prague that the organization wants to cooperate with those political parties or movements which will pursue their interests. At the same time they want to devote their experience and capabilities to the development of the economy, politics, and culture. From other information it was clear that older people's health care here is in very bad shape. Union representatives likewise requested journalists to publish information that this interest group association is also open to all retirees who are invalids. Union chairman A. Tomasek and press spokesman M. Holman expressed the opinion that there should be retirees, for example, in the social commissions of the national committees. The fact is alarming that if there is rent charged for housing it will be a catastrophe for many old people. When they spoke of retiree homes, the union leaders stated that these facilities resemble prisons in their furnishings and operations. We definitely should change the conditions in them. In response to the question as to whether they would accept such "almost retirees" as M. Jakes, for example, they answered that if he paid the annual dues of Kcs 12, it would be possible. On the other hand, however, it might deter others interested in membership and many would probably part company with the union.

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